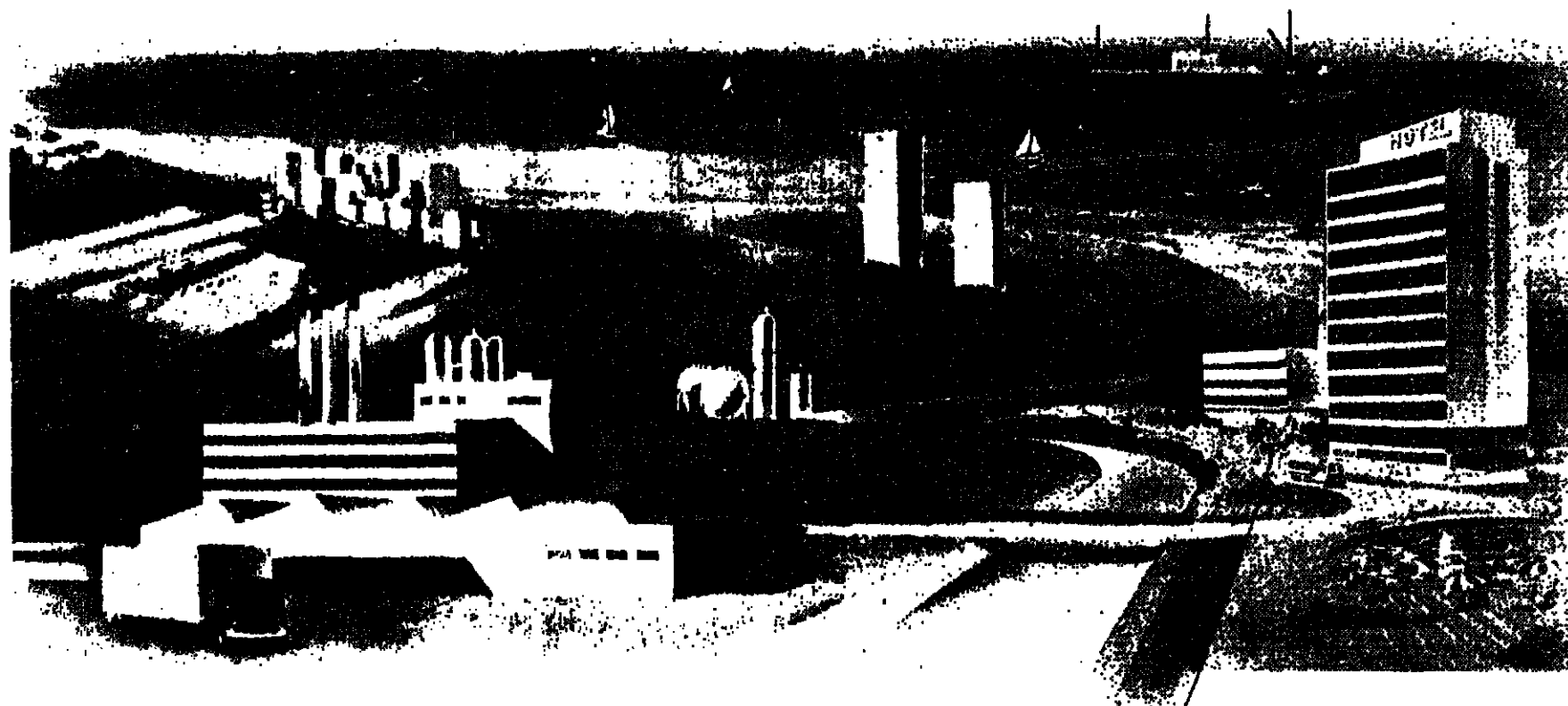


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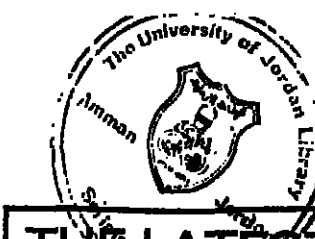
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# THE JERUSALEM POST

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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THE LATEST NEWS FROM ISRAEL

Published in Jerusalem

צא לאור בירושלים

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- Tourist trade in the doldrums, page 11
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## Lebanon talks get down to business

As the U.S. pressed for a speeding up of the Lebanon negotiations, Lebanese and Israeli delegates finally agreed last week on an agenda for the talks. It was the first sign of forward movement since the talks began last month.

At the same time Lebanon opened a new round of contacts with Syria and the PLO to try to bring about a simultaneous withdrawal of foreign forces. Syria warned at the weekend that it would not allow Israel to "reap gains" from the war in Lebanon.

The main stumbling block to the adoption of an agenda had been Israel's desire to discuss the normalization of relations and Lebanon's wish to concentrate on the question of withdrawal.

Foreign Ministry director-general David Kimche announced the agreement on the agenda in Kiryat Shmona on Thursday after the sixth round of the negotiations.

It covers: 1) termination of the state of war; 2) security arrangements; and 3) framework for mutual relations. This includes such issues as liaison; ending hostile propaganda; the movement of goods, products and persons; communications; a programme of com-

plete withdrawals; conditions for Israeli withdrawal within the context of the evacuation of all foreign forces; and possible guarantees.

A note appended to the agenda states that "the agenda has incorporated the subjects proposed by the delegations of Israel and Lebanon. All agree to address the items on the agenda open-mindedly, without commitment to the outcome of the negotiations. Each delegation may raise subjects additional to those on the agenda."

After Kimche's statement, the American, Israeli and Lebanese delegations gathered for lunch at the Zaiton Hotel. As glasses were raised to toast the agreement on the agenda the head of the Lebanese delegation, Antoine Fattal, said: "I'll raise my glass when the talks conclude."

Speaking to journalists Defense Minister Ariel Sharon said: "I am happy that subjects we discussed for many weeks in secret negotiations were accepted overtly today. It is not easy to make the transition from secret negotiations to open negotiations, but the fact is that we have succeeded."

"I see this as a first step towards (continued on page 2.)



OC Northern Command Aluf Amir Drori (pointing) explains the military situation in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley to visiting Defence Minister Ariel Sharon last week.

## U.S. policy in disarray as Reagan waits for Hussein

By WOLF BLITZER  
Washington Correspondent

military assistance to Israel over the Reagan Administration's originally proposed levels.

In explaining that really remarkable development, Time magazine said: "Many members of Congress remain susceptible to pressure from Israel, regardless of the cost to U.S. interests and prestige."

That, of course, may be partially true. But the fact remains that Israel continues to enjoy a strong reservoir of support in Congress and elsewhere in the U.S. precisely because a solid U.S.-Israeli alignment is perceived as enhancing U.S. interests and prestige, despite occasional differences between Washington and Jerusalem.

THAT THE Jewish community can still unite itself behind the Israeli Government was vividly underlined to Secretary of State George Shultz and his senior staff when 14 national Jewish leaders visited the State Department last week to review the current situation in the Middle East.

According to several participants in that two-hour session, the Jews were solidly behind Israel's position during the meeting.

Thus, even the four Republican Jewish activists invited — Max Fisher of Detroit, Albert Spiegel of Los Angeles, Gordon Zacks of

Columbus and George Klein of New York — refused to defend the Republican administration. Instead, they complained about various aspects of U.S. policy towards Israel.

And among the other Jews present who came from the Presidents' Conference, even those representing Jewish organizations which traditionally have been closely identified with the opposition Labour Alignment in Israel — such as the New York-based Jewish Labour Committee — defended Israel at the Shultz meeting.

"There was absolutely no give and take during the meeting," said one participant. "There was no real exploration of views, no real analysis of the situation."

What happened was that Shultz opened the meeting with a lengthy assessment of U.S.-Israeli relations and the overall peace process in the region, and then spent the rest of the time mostly listening to the comments of the Jewish leaders without really responding.

Administration officials as well as Jewish leaders agreed that the session was "disastrous," Shultz, in

fact, ended the meeting by telling the Jews that he planned to avoid any similar meetings in the future. Another format, he said, would have to be found.

"All in all," a U.S. official said, "it was not very pleasant. The secretary was deeply upset by the meeting."

Even before the meeting, the State Department had clearly stepped up its double-barrelled campaign to distance itself from Israel and, at the same time, to further entice Hussein to join the peace process.

Thus, there was the carefully planted leak to Time magazine that Begin might not be welcomed to the White House next month — as tentatively scheduled — if there is "no agenda and no progress" with Lebanon by then.

Despite official Israeli disclaimers, reliable Israeli sources in Washington privately confirmed that the message from the White House, as conveyed through the pages of the weekly newsmagazine and other indirect channels, was received loud and clear in Jerusalem.

(Continued on page 4)

NEWSTAND PRICES IN LOCAL CURRENCY			
Australia	\$1.20	Italy	L.1,400
Canada	\$1.98	South Africa	R41.20
Denmark	DKR.90	Sweden	SKR.80
Germany	DM2.80	Switzerland	SFR.30
Holland	DF3.00	United Kingdom	50p
Israel	IS22.00	United States	\$1.25

# Sharon gets tough on PLO

Defence Minister Ariel Sharon seemed to signal a marked hardening of Israel's long-standing position on Palestinian participation in peace talks when he announced last week that Israel would reject any PLO participation "whether covert or overt."

Sharon's statement was issued formally by the Defence Ministry. In an additional comment to Israel Radio, the minister said: "We are not prepared to talk to the PLO or people who speak for it."

In the past, Israel's stand, while wholly negative to the PLO itself, has been deliberately more vague on possible Palestinian participants at peace negotiations who might be associated with the PLO without representing it.

Sharon's latest statement was apparently intended to rule out such persons. He said Israel was willing to negotiate only with Palestinians of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, who seek co-existence with Israel.

Government sources refused to say whether Sharon's statement had been co-ordinated in advance with the cabinet or with other senior ministers.

The statement was plainly timed to coincide with the much publicized current efforts by King Hussein and Yasser Arafat to put together a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation for negotiations with Israel.

Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i urged last week that Israel "adopt a strong posture vis-a-vis American pressures, because control of Judea and Samaria is a vital security need. When our existence is involved, we must not make any concession."

Speaking to the Liberal Party's central committee and council, Moda'i said he foresees "great difficulties in our relations with the Americans on Judea and Samaria. This is the crucial problem facing us, much more than Lebanon." In spite of the expected differences with the U.S. and all the harsh statements in Washington, he said, "the U.S. will not abandon Israel, because it needs us from the point of view of its global strategic interests."

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said last week that he believes the American position is set forth in the Reagan peace plan will change in time. "Israel's positions on these questions have been clear all along," he told Israel Television news.

Shamir was commenting on reports of growing friction between the U.S. and Israel. He denied these

reports and corrected the questioner by saying that the Reagan Plan was never "a plan" but only a set of ideas, which eventually would be discussed by the U.S. and Israel.

In Moscow PLO chief Yasser Arafat said last week that the Kremlin approves the idea of a confederation between an Arab state in former Western Palestine and Jordan.

He told a news conference after talks with Communist Party leader Yuri Andropov and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko he had been assured of continued Soviet backing for his organization.

Arafat arrived in Moscow after two days of talks in Jordan with King Hussein on ways to a Middle East settlement, including the possibility of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation.

A dissident member of Arafat's Fatah leadership was quoted last week as saying that there is "a widening rift" in the PLO over U.S. President Ronald Reagan's Mideast peace proposals.

Nimr Saleh, one of four Fatah central committee members who



Energy Minister Moda'i

## Mitterrand's kosher meal

PARIS (JTA). — French President Francois Mitterrand returned last week to the Rue des Rosiers restaurant where an Arab hit squad killed six people last August. Mitterrand this time came just for the pleasure of a typical Jewish meal at Jo Goldenberg's deli, where the attack took place.

The president, accompanied by his Jewish brother-in-law Roger Hanin and a young Jewish politician, Roger Gerard Schwartzberg, arrived unannounced and unexpected. Last time Mitterrand visited the Rue des Rosiers was on the day following the attack, when he attended funeral services for the victims.

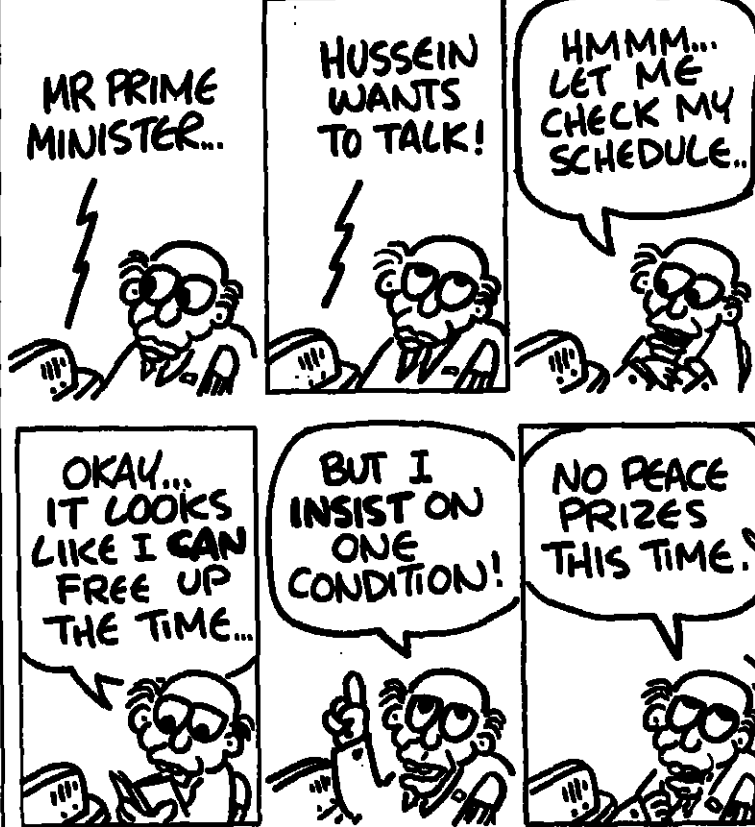
This time, the president, in a good mood, chose a *Smaltz* herring, *piroshkis* and boiled beef with horseradish, washed down with a glass or two of vodka.

It was not just a gastronomic treat, eyewitnesses said. Mitterrand also wanted to show his solidarity with the people in the "Pletzel," the old Jewish ghetto.

In Jerusalem, France and Israel signed a wide-ranging cultural exchange agreement last week. David Rivlin, head of the Foreign Ministry's cultural ties department, and his counterpart in the French Ministry of External Affairs, Jacques Boutet, signed the accord.

Rivlin described the agreement as the most comprehensive ever signed between the two countries. It marks an end to the slowdown in the Israel-French dialogue imposed by Mitterrand in protest against the Israeli action in Lebanon.

# Dry Bones



## THE LEBANON TALKS

(Continued from page 1.)

discussion of the details and the essence of the sections. My assessment is that we shall arrive at an agreement that will give the two countries — Israel and Lebanon — security and normalization, which is a primary component of security. "And this will definitely bring peace in the future, and, I believe, sooner than can be discerned," Sharon said.

Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir said that Israel did not drag its feet during the talks. He praised the U.S. role in the negotiations.

On Friday, Shamir, reacting to reports last week that Prime Minister Menachem Begin might not be welcome at the White House next month if there is no progress on the Lebanon talks, said that Begin's visit to the U.S. will be held in the very immediate future, although the exact date has not been set.

Shamir also denied that special U.S. envoy Philip Habib had set February 12 as a deadline for the evacuation of all foreign troops from Lebanon. "The Americans are showing a lack of patience on this issue," he told Israel Television. "We feel that the first step has to be the removal of the remaining PLO forces from Lebanon. Once that is accomplished, it would be possible to remove the other forces, even before February 12."

Mr. Begin met Habib last week. The prime minister's media adviser, Uri Porat said Habib "brought the prime minister a friendly letter from President Reagan." In answer to a question, Porat confirmed that a date for Begin's visit to the U.S. has not yet been set.

After Sunday's meeting of the Israel cabinet it was reported that Mr. Begin has appointed a three-man team to maintain contact with Habib with a view to accelerating the negotiations. The three-man committee comprises Foreign Minister Shamir, Defence Minister Sharon, and David Kimche. The idea is that the committee decide on general principles and that the details be formulated in the talks



David Kimche, head of the Israel delegation and one of the special three-man committee appointed by Premier Begin.

with Lebanon, at Khalde, near Beirut, and Israel's northern town of Kiryat Shmona.

Begin reportedly disclosed at the cabinet meeting that the Reagan letter had called on him to speed up the negotiations with Lebanon.

It was denied that Habib had proposed a date for an Israeli withdrawal.

Mr. Begin denied a report that Israel and Syria had reached an understanding on dividing Lebanon into spheres of influence.

Syrian President Hafez Assad pledged last week to support Lebanon in its efforts to "regain sovereignty over its entire territory," and warned he would not allow Israel to "reap political or military gains out of its Lebanon invasion."

A government spokesman in Damascus said Assad made his position clear in a three-hour conference he held with Lebanese President Amin Jemayel's special envoy Jean Obeld.

Syria still has 40,000 troops in Lebanon. Damascus could refuse to withdraw its forces if it was not satisfied with a settlement reached between Lebanon and Israel.

In Beirut, Lebanese Prime Minister Shafik Wazzan told state television that a "complete and unconditional Israeli withdrawal" remains Lebanon's top priority in the talks. He also said Lebanon, not Israel, needs security guarantees against further invasion.

(Compiled from reports by Menachem Horowitz and news agencies.)

## NEWS REPORT

# Israel's 'illusions' on Lebanon

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Knesset Member and former prime minister Yitzhak Rabin last week called on the government to admit that the goal of using Israel's armed might to impose a formal peace agreement on Lebanon is a "mistake, an illusion," and to concentrate now on securing Israel's minimal security needs in the North.

Speaking at the Hebrew University at a lecture in memory of Tat-Aluf David Carmon, Rabin said that it is an illusion to believe that Israel could launch a war on Lebanese territory, conquer its capital and then force it to make peace. He said that this faulty political conception underlying the war was based on an illegitimate use of the Israel Defence Forces to attain far-reaching political goals.

In the Middle East, he said, the involvement of the superpowers makes it impossible to use force to impose peace the way the Allies did in World War II.

Stressing that Israel is paying a heavy price in prolonging its stay in Lebanon, he said that it is not necessary to waste weeks of negotiating for a formal normalization agreement that could evaporate with the slightest Arab pressure on Lebanon. The government is insisting on this, he said, because "some people need to

prove that there is something to salvage from the political illusion behind the war, even if it amounts to an insignificant gain."

Israel should concentrate on three security goals in the present talks, he said. One is effective security arrangements in a 40-45-kilometre zone from the northern border. This would not be easy given the large Palestinian refugee presence and the fact that even the IDF has not stopped small terror gangs from operating. It may be necessary, he said, to give a role to a multi-national force, given the weakness of the Lebanese Army.

The second security goal is simultaneous withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, not the PLO first as the government insists.

The third goal is a declaration that a state of war no longer exists between Israel and Lebanon. A *de facto* normalization agreement would have the same questionable practical value as a formal agreement, he said.

Commenting on the introduction of SAM-5 missiles into Syria, Rabin said it could be part of a Soviet-Syrian strategy to harden Syria's stance and deepen the Lebanese imbroglio he said. Prolonging the conflict, he said, will prevent Jordan and Egypt from negotiating with Israel, will make it difficult for the

U.S. to exploit the new situation created by the war, and will prevent the PLO from allowing Jordan to represent it, thus tightening Syria's hold on the organization.

Efforts should now focus on the initial security goals of the war, which he supported and which attracted a broad national consensus, he concluded.

Two Herut ministers who are regular critics of Defence Minister Ariel Sharon's dominant influence on shaping policy towards Lebanon said at last week's cabinet session that a major re-assessment of such policy was urgently required.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin satisfied Deputy Premier David Levy and Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori by promising that the cabinet would hold a special debate for this purpose.

Levy said the policies laid down towards Lebanon before the Peace for Galilee operation, or after the ceasefire, were not appropriate to today's situation. The stability of the Jemayel regime and the depth of Soviet and Syrian involvement must be reassessed on the basis of up-to-date information, Levy said.

Zipori said a debate was needed to weigh the proper role of the IDF in Lebanon, in the light of continuing casualties.



Peace Now members demonstrate at the new Judean settlement of Efrat on Saturday.

## Labour 'yes' on West Bank

By SARAH HONG  
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Labour Party political bureau last week gave the Histadrut labour federation construction companies the green light to continue operating in Judea and Samaria. The session was described as the stormiest since just before the 1981 Knesset elections.

Speakers shouted at each other, personal insults were traded and tempers erupted during the three-and-a-half-hour debate. Throughout the turmoil, party chairman Shimon Peres and former premier Yitzhak Rabin remained silent.

But finally, the "doves," who demanded an end to Histadrut involvement in the development of Judea and Samaria settlements, were roundly defeated. The resolution, adopted by acclamation, stipulates that the Histadrut will not invest in plants in areas of dense

Arab population, but that "economic considerations and the desire to prevent unemployment have made it necessary for the Histadrut to accept work in all parts of the country, as well as outside the country."

In one of the surprise exchanges during the debate, the director-general of Koor, another Histadrut enterprise, Yeshayahu Gavish defended the majority view by arguing that Hevrat Ovdim, the Histadrut holding company, would face government retribution and would be hurt if it did not accept contracts in Judea and Samaria.

But Koor board chairman MK Naftali Blumenthal maintained that "Hevrat Ovdim can survive without building in areas densely populated by Arabs. The amount of work we do there is too small to really be decisive for us. We must base our decision on ideology or we will keep on capitulating."

## Peace Now 'seizes town'

By ISRAEL ANRANI  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

EFFRAIT. — Thousands of Peace Now protesters joined forces Saturday with activists from disadvantaged neighbourhoods to seize this brand-new unfinished West Bank town ten kilometres south of Bethlehem. The demonstrators, who left some hours later, were protesting the government's settlement policy, which they said takes money away from public housing projects and gravely harms the peace process.

The demonstrators arrived in about 20 buses and more than 100 private vehicles from all over the country, including Kibbutz Sasa on the Lebanese border, and Eilat. Organizers kept the protest top secret.

Protesters began arriving at 4.30 p.m., blocking the road with their vehicles to prevent security forces, who arrived in trucks and jeeps from interfering. Two hours earlier, demonstrators had arrived at Elkana, near Nablus, where hundreds of troops awaited them, following deliberately misleading tip-offs.

The demonstrators walking uphill, carried burning torches and placards, in the bitter-cold windy weather. The security forces refrained from interfering as several demonstrators using rocks, set up a roadblock, and assembled a five-branched, menorah-like metal sculpture donated by Yigal Tumarkin.

The demonstrators walked among the unfinished houses and pasted posters on to their stone walls, reading, "Musara (one of the poorer areas of Jerusalem) an integral part of Eretz Yisrael." "No to annexation," "Money to the slums, not settlements," and other slogans.

# Megashekels



1.123.000.000.000 shekels.

That's Israel's budget for fiscal 1983, as presented this past week by Finance Minister Yoram Aridor. His 1.123 trillion-shekel plan assumes a continuation of subsidy cuts, monthly devaluations of the shekel and an annual inflation rate of "only" 90 per cent. (The inflation rate for 1982 was 131.5 per cent.)

All those zeros look like a lot, even to Israelis who are used to paying hundreds of shekels for groceries, thousands for clothes and hundreds of thousands for a new car.

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## Consumer price rise second biggest ever

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

The consumer price index for December rose by 5.5 per cent, bringing the total 1982 rise to 131.5 per cent, the second highest figure ever registered in Israel.

Figures disclosed on Friday by the Central Bureau of Statistics showed that Finance Minister Yoram Aridor "missed" breaking the 1980 inflation record of 132.9 per cent by 1.4 per cent.

Excluding fruit and vegetable prices, which are influenced by climatic conditions, the index for 1982 rose by 132.1 per cent, the highest figure ever registered on this basis, economic observers noted.

Reacting to the bureau's announcement, senior Treasury officials pointed to the fact that the rate of inflation had gone down from a monthly average of 7-8 per cent during the first months of the year to 4-6 per cent in the last quarter.

This is the result of the partial implementation of the Treasury's measures to halt inflation, the officials said.

The officials predicted that the full impact of the Treasury's measures will begin to be felt by the second quarter of the year, when the latest C-10 allowance agreement reached with the Histadrut labour federation is implemented.

The 5.5 per cent rise in the CPI brought the index for December to 679 points, on a 1980=100 baseline. This means that the average expenditure for an urban family of four for last month totalled some IS25,000.



Finance Minister Aridor

The figures revealed that the social gap widened during last year, as a result of the way price rises affected different income groups.

The CPI rose by 131.5 per cent for the population as a whole. But for the 10 per cent with the lowest incomes, it rose by 136 per cent.

The differences between the index rise for the various income groups were due mainly to the steep rises in public transport, housing, health, and education, all of which make up a large part of the total expenditure of lower income groups.

Describing the development of inflation for 1982, officials at the Central Bureau of Statistics pointed out that it was similar to that of 1980, with an acceleration of inflation in the first part of the year, as a result of government initiated price increases, and a slowdown during the later stages of the year.

The largest single increase in prices for 1982 was registered in university tuition, which went up by 248 per cent, while the smallest hike was registered in the price of telephone installation, a mere 2.7 per cent.

## El Al 'tries to fly again

The dispute between El Al's management and its pilots had still not been settled as the week begun and a question mark remains over the national airline's flights after the months-long grounding because of labour disputes.

The pilots have rejected a new work agreement and have refused to fly the company's planes. An exception was made last week when a flight was made to Johannesburg, via Nairobi, the first in four months.

El Al's management is determined to fire pilots who do not report for work and is negotiating with foreign air crews, according to an airline source. The Jerusalem District Court has authorized El Al to operate with pilots from other airlines and arrangements are being made for some flights. The new management of the airline has refused to meet with representatives of the pilots.

The pilots are demanding a separate work agreement, separate union representation and a last-in-first-out agreement on dismissals. They do not recognize the agreement reached by the Histadrut labour federation, the management and the airline's receiver after months of contentious negotiations.

### Panel on Arab extremism

In an effort to stem the rising extremism among Israeli Arab youth, Education Minister Zevulun Hammer plans to set up a committee of experts to examine curricula used in schools in the Arab sector.

The proposed committee will look into the educational, psychological and sociological aspects of the question.

## U.S. POLICY IN DISARRAY

(Continued from page 1)

In Jerusalem, Premier Menachem Begin's spokesman Uri Porat rejected the report as "infantile, ridiculous and tendentious."

If that were not enough, the State Department has intensified its policy of going public as often as possible in criticism of various Israeli statements and actions, especially in connection with further settlement activity on the West Bank. These statements, U.S. officials said, were designed to send a message both to Israel and the "moderate" Arab states.

And at mid-week, the State Department dropped a mini-bombshell when spokesman Alan Romberg disclosed that the U.S. might even agree to rewrite the original Camp David Framework Agreement by reducing the proposed five-year transition period for Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Camp David specifically spoke of a five-year period.

But U.S. officials said this newest U.S. formulation, read to reporters at the daily news briefing, was designed to signal to Hussein that the U.S. was now more flexible on finding an interpretation of Camp David which might be more acceptable to him. Without elaborating, the officials said they also were considering some other "presents" for Hussein in the coming days and weeks, to help him make up his mind.

BUT EVEN as the administration was planning some more unpleasant surprises for Israel, there were clear signs of disarray at both the White House and the State Department. Some of the president's close



Secretary of State Shultz

political aides, for example, were becoming increasingly frustrated by the failure to achieve progress more quickly on Lebanon and on the broader Arab-Israeli peace process. They had been led to believe that Reagan's initiative was going to produce quick, positive results. Because it has not, they have now begun to snipe at State Department officials.

Special U.S. Middle East Ambassador Philip Habib was furious at those White House officials just before his latest return to the region the other day. He read them the riot act, according to State Department officials, telling them he had the highest regard for Draper and Velities.

But a sure sign that an administration's Middle East policy is in deep trouble becomes evident when its leading cast of characters embarks in such guerrilla activity against each other as part of an effort to save their own skin. This seems to be the case right now.

## NEWS REPORT

## Uncertainty hits share market

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN  
Post Finance Reporter

The general share index, excluding the banking sector, fell by 2.2 per cent last week. Particularly hard-hit were specialized financial institutions, service and trade companies, land development and real estate and oil concerns. These fell by margins of 5.5 per cent to more than eight per cent.

A rapid glance at the list of share prices indicates that more than a few declined, in the course of one week, by more than 20 per cent.

The direct cause of nervousness of the market which led to its fall was the resignation of Meir Heth from his post as chairman of the board of directors of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange. On January 6, Heth could not get support for his demands for far-reaching changes in the capital market. After the market closed he announced his resignation.

A week later, on Thursday night, Heth retracted his resignation when the members of the board pledged their support for him and appointed three sub-committees to deal with what Heth described as major "deficiencies" in current regulations and practice.

But the damage had been done, and the high level of optimism quickly changed to uncertainty, which was followed by pessimism.



Meir Heth... resignation retracted

No one expects that there will be a sharp rebound in prices when trading resumes this week but the public and the share market are capable of remarkable resilience.

At current price levels, there will be some bargain-hunting focused on those shares which suffered the sharpest losses. The market may be further fortified by the shortly anticipated inflow of massive sums of money due from redeemed savings schemes and salary adjustments.

## Soccer results

TEL AVIV. — Maccabi Netanya maintained their unstopable winning ways in Israel's National Football League on Saturday.

Netanya were a cut above their visitors, who nevertheless put up a plucky showing.

### NATIONAL LEAGUE

Hapoel Beersheba 4, Hapoel Jerusalem 0  
Maccabi Netanya 1, Hap. Lod 0  
Hap. Tel Aviv 1, Mac. Haifa 0  
Bnei Yehuda 0, Mac. Patah Tikva 0  
Mac. Jaffa 0, Hap. Yehud 1  
Hap. Kfar Sava 0, Mac. Tel Aviv 0  
Mac. Yavne 0, Shimon 0  
Beitar Jerusalem 1, Hap. Ramat Gan 1

### Standing after 16 games

	W	D	L	Goals For	Goals Against
1. Netanya	12	3	1	37:17	39
2. Mac. TA	5	9	2	18:7	24
3. Hap. TA	6	6	4	14:12	24
4. Shimon	5	8	3	17:12	23
5. Bnei Yehuda	5	8	3	11:10	23
6. Mac. PT	6	5	5	18:19	23
7. Lod	4	8	4	21:17	20
8. Beersheba	4	8	4	14:14	20
9. Yavne	4	7	5	15:19	19
10. Yehud	4	7	5	10:16	19
11. Jaffa	3	9	4	12:13	18
12. Mac. Haifa	3	8	5	13:18	17
13. Kfar Sava	3	7	6	19:22	16
14. Ramat Gan	2	10	4	8:11	16
15. Be. Jem	2	8	6	19:23	14
16. Hap. Jem	3	10	13	16:32	12

There will be no league soccer in Israel next Saturday as the national youth team players up to the age of 19 leave for Costa Rica for world championship preliminary games against New Zealand and Costa Rica.

## Tie with Russians

Maccabi Tel Aviv plays the European champions, FC Cantu, this week in Italy after splitting two games with the Russian team in the European Cup tournament last week. The match may be decisive in determining who will reach the finals.

Last week, Maccabi Tel Aviv defeated CSKA Moscow 3-0, after bowing to the Russians the previous night, 78-69, in their first match of the journey.

Eyal Williams was Israel's leading scorer in both games, scoring 23 points in the first game and 25 in the second.

## Rates of exchange

January 14, 1983	
U.S. dollar	44.678
British sterling	54.7914
German mark	14.7455
French franc	5.1966
Dutch guilder	13.3699
Swiss franc	17.9722
Swedish krona	4.2798
Norwegian krone	4.9578
Danish krone	4.1808
Finish mark	6.5859
Canadian dollar	28.3761
Australian dollar	34.3167
South African rand	32.6758
Belgian franc (10)	7.5009
Austrian schilling (10)	20.9959
Italian lire (100)	2.5630
Japanese yen (100)	15.1023

## THE WEATHER

	Saturday's Low-High	Sunday's Low-High
Jerusalem	5-15	10
Nahariya	2-15	1
Natani	2-6	-
Haifa Port	8-15	15
Thetras	6-14	16
Nazareth	5-10	11
Tel Aviv	10-15	17
Lot	10-18	21

### 13 road deaths in week

Thirteen persons were killed and 88 seriously injured in traffic accidents last week, police said. Some 140 persons were slightly injured in the 132 accidents registered.

## Meir Lansky's vain struggle to settle here

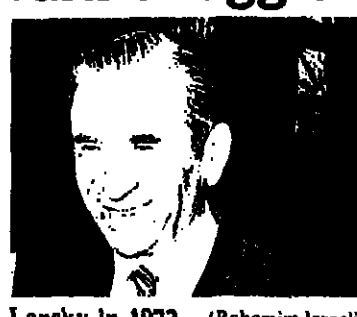
Meyer Lansky, once the reputed financial genius of the U.S. underworld who died of cancer in Miami Beach last week aged 81, will be remembered in Israel for his long and unsuccessful struggle to become an immigrant to this country.

In the early 1920s, barely out of his teens, Lansky began his climb upward in the U.S. underworld, a climb that brought him considerable wealth, indicated not only by the properties he acquired in the U.S. and Cuba, including gambling casinos and hotels, but also by his lifestyle.

It was Lansky who sought a legal framework for millions of untaxed dollars. As a gambler who had found out that the best way to win would be to own a gambling house, Lansky formed an association with Benjamin "Bugsy" Siegel, who first hit upon the brilliant idea of promoting Las Vegas, the hitherto unknown town in Nevada, as a future gambling capital of the world.

Lansky's ideas worked well, and the "Bugs and Meyer" crowd set up the profitable Flamingo and other establishments in Las Vegas.

During his first visit to Israel, in 1962, Lansky introduced himself to the press as a retired gentleman, whose business was legitimate gambling. He insisted that he had



Lansky in 1972. (Rahamim Israel)

never had anything to do with the world of extortion, robbery, drugs and prostitution. He also claimed that he had invested his whole capital in business firms and oil, and that it was much smaller than \$300m., his reputed worth. Last September, *Forbes Magazine*, a business publication, estimated that Lansky was worth \$100m.

He returned to Israel for his second visit in 1970. At the time, he was sought by a U.S. federal grand jury on income tax charges for concealing about \$36m. of income from the Flamingo Hotel. Joe "Doc" Stacher and a number of other U.S. underworld characters had preceded him to Israel and found refuge.

Lansky renewed his tourist visa a number of times and finally, in 1972, applied for Israeli citizenship under the Law of Return.

Minister of Interior Yosef Burg

finally refused Lansky's request, and was supported by a decision of the High Court of Justice.

By then, a warrant for Lansky's arrest had been issued in the U.S. After an 11-month stay, Lansky had to leave Israel, and by way of South America, he returned to the U.S., where he was eventually acquitted of all charges.

Throughout the years, Lansky, who often visited Europe, tried to come here for a visit. He invested in a Miami group which had investments in Israel, and was a generous investor in Israel Bonds and various Jewish social causes. Lansky lived in Miami Beach with his second wife, Thelma, and had three sons. He was a member of congregation Beth Jacob in Miami, and his head, Dr. Shmaryahu Swirsky, appealed to Israel to "forgive a Jew who might have made an error."

The state of Israel refused Lansky a tourist visa. The 1977 change in government did not help, and his repeated applications continued to be refused.

Finally, on September 15, 1980 the Ministry of Interior informed the mortally-ill Lansky, and the High Court of Justice, to which he appealed for a show-cause order, that it no longer objected to him visiting Israel for a limited period on certain conditions.



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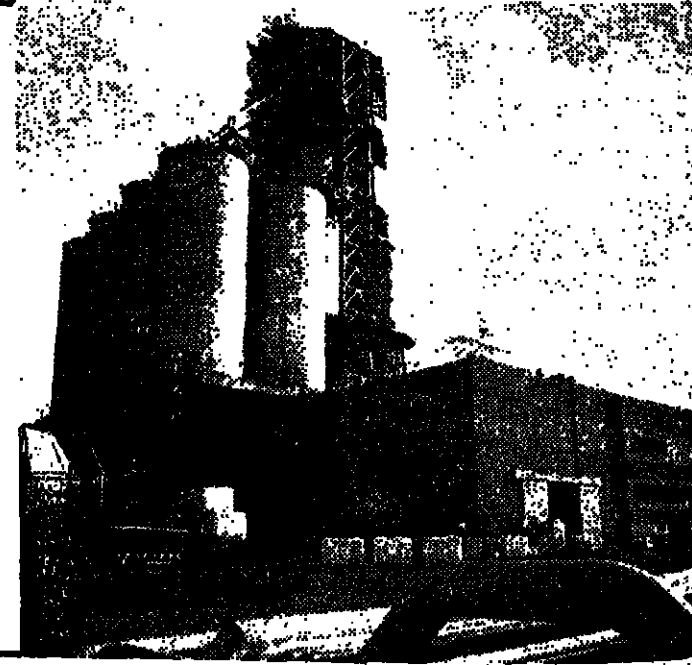
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## Dip in living standards predicted

By AVI TEMKIN  
Post Economic Reporter

Treasury and Bank of Israel economists predict a slight fall in the standard of living of the average Israeli, but there will be employment stability and a slight growth in the economy.

But all this, they point out, depends on the recovery of the world economy, the stability of the European currencies against the dollar and the maintenance of real wages at their present level.

These forecasts are in the 1983 National Budget Report published last week, a document prepared jointly by the Finance Ministry and the Bank of Israel.

Representatives of the Treasury, the Bank of Israel and the Economic Planning Authority, a body within the Ministry for Economic Coordination, told a press conference in Jerusalem last week that the predictions should be regarded with caution, since great uncertainty exists with regard to external conditions in Europe and the U.S.

The report does not rule out the possibility of greater intervention by the central bank in the stock market

to reduce what it describes as speculative activity and the liquidity of securities traded.

The representatives warned that any increase in the level of real wages would result in higher unemployment. If the present level of wages persists, unemployment will remain stable at 5 per cent.

Exports are expected to grow in real terms by 5 per cent. This year, during 1982, there was a 5 per cent fall in exports. An increase in exports in the coming year will enable the economy to grow by 2 per cent.

The report does not present a clear forecast for the 1983 rate of inflation, but it states that the rate of price increases will be below 100 per cent.

The National Budget Report does not offer a wholehearted endorsement of present Treasury policies, apparently sharing the Bank of Israel's concerns. All it says about the causes of the rate of inflation is that there is no agreed explanation for it.

The report also expresses no clear position on the present policy of slowing down the rate of the shekel's devaluation. It says only that any effort to speed up the rate

of devaluation may result in higher inflation without encouraging exports.

Our Knesset reporter adds: In presenting his 1983 budget of ISL1 trillion (\$30 billion) to the Knesset, Finance Minister Yoram Aridor last week rejected exporters' demands for a more rapid devaluation of the shekel.

In an open economy like Israel's, he said, with such a high level of imports and exports, accelerated devaluation over any period would not be realistic and would lead only to accelerated inflation.

The most important economic event of 1982, he said, was that unemployment did not rise.

Later in the week aspects of Aridor's policies were attacked by fellow Likud MK Yigal Hurvitz. Speaking in the budget debate, the former finance minister asked how Israelis could boast (as Aridor did in his budget speech) that Israel was a "solid rock in a sea of world unemployment."

"Are we not ashamed to pride ourselves on the fact that unemployed in the U.S. are lining up at soup kitchens while here we all have plenty to eat?" asked Hurvitz.

## Survey says rich-poor gap has widened

By CHARLES HOFFMAN  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

For the fourth straight year since 1977, the number of families under the poverty line has grown and the gap between rich and poor has widened, despite child allowances and other welfare payments made by the National Insurance Institute.

The NII survey of 1981, released last week, states that since the late 1960s through 1977, NII payments managed to reduce the number of families in what is defined as poverty and narrow the overall income gap among salaried workers. But during 1978-1981, the report concludes, "there has been a significant regression" in the impact of NII payments on poverty and inequality.

The poverty line for NII purposes is defined as 40 per cent of the median income.

In 1977, slightly under 3 per cent of all families remained beneath the poverty line after receiving NII payments, while in 1981 the percentage had grown to 6 per cent. In absolute terms, 14,100 families (64,300 persons) were left in poverty in 1977, compared with 33,900 families (153,200 persons) in 1981.

A worsening in the situation occurred in 1981 despite the introduction of quarterly adjustments in NII benefits to compensate for inflation.

The widening of the income gap was especially apparent among large families and one-parent families, which in any case are more in need of social assistance than



Minister Uzan

others.

The report states categorically that the increase in poverty among all types of families, and especially large ones, is due mainly to the erosion of the value of the child allowances since 1977 by 40 per cent.

In a related matter, the proposed large families benefits bill is still bogged down in negotiations between officials of the Ministry of Social Affairs, which sponsored it, and the Treasury. The ministry spokesman said after a meeting last week between the parties that they are locked in dispute on practically every point of the bill. The officials are to meet again this week.

The gloomy NII figures have baffled Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Aharon Uzan. "If things are getting worse, why are people still satisfied?" he asked. "Where is the reaction?"

While not intending to cast doubt on the research and analysis of the NII report, Uzan last week decided to appoint a joint ministry-NII team to determine if the worsening income situation of the poor has been offset by improved social services in other areas.

## Divine name is found on 7th century BCE amulet

By ABRAHAM RABINOVICH  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The earliest mention of God's name ever found in Jerusalem has been discovered on an unusual silver amulet scroll uncovered in a treasure trove excavated on a hill opposite Mount Zion.

The scroll, from the seventh century BCE, was discovered three years ago by archaeologist Gabriel Barkay of Tel Aviv University, but was only unveiled last month in the laboratory of the Israel Museum by use of a special technique.

"It's the first time in 150 years of archaeological excavations in Jerusalem that the Hebrew form for the name of God has been found," Barkay told *The Jerusalem Post* last week.

The excavations alongside St. Andrew's church above the Hinnom Valley were

described as "sensational" by leading archaeologists hearing about it for the first time. They also produced the largest amount of jewelry ever found in a Jerusalem dig and the oldest coin ever found in the country — a sixth century BCE coin in the shape of a crab from the Aegean island of Kos.

Although rumours of striking finds near St. Andrew's have circulated in archaeological circles in recent years, Barkay maintained a low profile for fear of drawing the attention of ultra-Orthodox circles who might suspect violation of ancient Jewish graves. He made his first public revelation of his discoveries last week in a lecture at the Rockefeller Museum sponsored by the Albright Institute and Hebrew Union College.

The young archaeologist said he had found two small silver amulets in an underground "repository" — a tomb chamber in which

gifts to the dead were placed along with their bones. Both amulets contain prayers in Hebrew. The texts were scratched with a sharp instrument onto the metal — analyzed as 99.9 per cent pure silver, according to Barkay — and were difficult to read. Aside from revealing that one of them contained the Hebrew form for God's name — Yuh-heh-vav-heh, transliterated as Jehovah in the Christian world — the archaeologist declined to discuss the scrolls further, saying he was presently working on their decipherment.

The perishable quality of papyrus and other materials used for writing accounts for the absence of any archaeological finds hitherto of God's name. Barkay noted that although stone inscriptions have been found, they predictably do not contain God's name because they are not in the nature of religious texts.

## Ex-MK loses jail appeal

The Jerusalem District Court last week turned down former MK Samuel Flatto-Sharon's appeal against his conviction for election bribery and upheld a nine-month prison sentence passed by the magistrates court. Flatto-Sharon will begin serving the sentence on March 1.

The court also accepted the state's appeal regarding Ya'acov Halfon, the former MK's elections adviser, and gave him a six-month suspended sentence for election bribery. A one-and-a-half year suspended sentence and an IS4,000 fine against another Flatto-Sharon aide, Jacques Benaudis, was also upheld on appeal.

The district court judges said that the offences committed were very serious, but did not feel greater penalties should be imposed because this was the first election bribery case in Israel's history. Flatto's attorneys announced



Samuel Flatto-Sharon. (Millman)

that they would appeal the sentence in the Supreme Court within eight days.

Following his sentencing, Flatto said, "Struggles have been an integral part of my life, and this is just another struggle. The Supreme Court, I hope, will see to it that justice is done."

## Immigrants settle in smoothly

By AARON SITTNER  
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Immigrants who arrived here four years ago have settled into the economy quite well, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics.

In a survey of 18,000 olim who arrived between September 1978 and August 1979, the bureau found the following:

Housing: three years after their arrival, almost 90 per cent were living in permanent housing — their own flats or rented ones. Within the first year, 13 per cent had bought flats, and after three years, 33 per cent were flat owners.

Employment: 14 per cent of the group were still seeking jobs three years after their immigration, com-

pared with a jobless rate of only 5 per cent among the general population. Of the immigrants who succeeded in finding a job, 30 per cent expressed fears of being dismissed.

Language: only 19 per cent of the group use Hebrew as their main language three years after their arrival.

Social contacts: 75 per cent of the social gatherings of these immigrants — three years after settling in Israel — are still with people from their countries of origin.

Emigration: an average of 11 per cent of the 1978/79 immigrants left Israel within 36 months of their arrival. Among those from the West, the number reached 24 per cent.

## 2 U.S. physicists share Wolf Prize

The 1982 Wolf Foundation Physics Prize will be shared by two American professors, Leon Lederman and Martin Perl, for their discoveries of unexpected new particles establishing a third generation of the tiniest building forms of matter inside the atom, it was announced last week.

Lederman, 60, is director of the Fermi Accelerator Laboratory in Chicago and Perl is with the Stanford University Linear Accelerator Center in California. Their awards are based on independent experiments.

The Wolf Prize, said to be second in value to the Nobel Prize, consists of \$100,000 awards for internationally recognized achievements in each of six categories: physics, agriculture, medicine, chemistry, mathematics and arts (music). It was established in 1975 by the late Ricardo Wolf, inventor, diplomat and philanthropist.

The physics award for 1982 is the first to be announced. The prizes will be awarded to the recipients by President Yitzhak Navon at a ceremony in the Knesset in May.

## 'Protection' gang

TEL AVIV (Itim). — Police last week arrested four Tel Aviv men, and one from Rishon LeZion on suspicion of running a protection racket in the central bus station area, following a lengthy undercover operation in which several detectives posed as waiters, dishwashers and the owner of a restaurant.

The suspects, according to police, forced area restaurant owners to give them free meals and extorted regular payments from them in exchange for not harming their businesses. Such cases are hard to crack, stressed Tel Aviv district commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeeman, because the victims are afraid to report the crime to police.

## NEWS REPORT

## Hebron declared 'closed area' after dispute; clampdown on university

The West Bank town of Hebron was declared a "closed military area" last week to prevent Peace Now activists from helping the Arab municipality erect — and guard — four electricity pylons that were knocked down twice by settlers from the neighbouring Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba.

The development came as security forces in another large West Bank town, Nablus, closed off Al-Najah University, where students had held a rally to mark the anniversary of Fatah, the PLO core group.

Military sources in Hebron insisted that the IDF took responsibility for order in the area and would ensure that the law is upheld by all.

The dispute began two weeks ago

when the Kiryat Arba local council claimed the pylons had been placed in an area over which it had jurisdiction and that the Hebron municipality ignored letters demanding that they be removed.

In a pre-dawn action a week ago last Sunday, unidentified settlers uprooted the pylons and destroyed a house being built close to the disputed tract, claiming that it, too, was outside the municipality's jurisdiction.

The civil administration insisted that it would not intervene unless the municipality or the owner of the house made a formal complaint.

Since its inception over a year ago, the civil administration has been boycotted by Arab mayors in the West Bank on the grounds that it was set up to facilitate the im-

plementation of the Israeli version of autonomy which most Palestinians have rejected.

Meanwhile, the Kiryat Arba council called on the defence minister to bring proceedings against Hebron Mayor Mustafa Nebi Natshe, claiming he was a PLO agent.

In Nablus, military roadblocks remained in place around the Al-Najah University following the student rally to mark the 18th anniversary of the founding of Fatah. According to local sources, troops differentiated between students who live in the town and those from elsewhere — in effect implementing military order number 854, which the civil administration had conceded it would freeze for a year.

The military order, which was

promulgated to control the activities of the West Bank institutions of higher learning, allows the civil administration to veto the teaching stuffs, syllabuses and student bodies at the four West Bank universities. The intention to apply the order this year, coupled with the civil administration's demand that foreign faculty sign a new work permit containing an oath not to support the PLO, brought a storm of international protest.

At week's end, there was a clash between a handful of followers of Kuch leader Rabbi Meir Kahane who are encamped in some shacks and tents on a windswept hill near Kiryat Arba and followers of Rabbi Moshe Levinger, the founder of the renewed Jewish presence in Hebron, who together with some

other families has implanted himself in the heart of that Arab town in order to restore the Jewish quarter in the City of the Patriarchs.

A feud between the two far-right groups resulted in violence when about 30 Kach people broke into Levinger's home next to the Avraham Avinu synagogue in Hebron. They are demanding that their "settlement," El Nakam ("God Avenges") receive the same support and services that Levinger's community receives from the Kiryat Arba local council.

El Nakam was established on a bleak hill behind Kiryat Arba to commemorate Eli Haze'ev, a Kach supporter who was killed by terrorists in an attack on Beit Hadassah in Hebron three years ago.

## UN chief to appeal for Shcharansky

By JUDY SIEGEL  
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

NEW YORK. — President Yitzhak Navon last week asked UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to persuade the Soviet authorities to permit Prisoner of Zion Anatoly Shcharansky's mother and brother to see him.

In Paris, Shcharansky's wife Avital said she is unsure he is still alive.

Meeting with Perez at the UN Navon said that Shcharansky has been on a hunger strike since Yom Kippur because the authorities have banned relatives' visits and letters to him, and that they are force-feeding him every three days. The UN head said he will appeal to the Soviets.

In a Paris news conference, Avital Shcharansky called on French President Francois Mitterrand "and all men of good faith" to "put an end to this assassination and prevent the tragedy that would be the death of Anatoly Shcharansky."

She said the last word she received about her husband was from his brother, Leonid, who told her by telephone from his home in Jerusalem that the dissident was being force-fed once every three days by prison officials.

Mrs. Shcharansky said her husband's mother, 75-year-old Ida Milgrom, began a vigil outside the prison walls on January 4.

Shcharansky is serving a 13-year prison term for "treason" and "espionage." He was sentenced in the summer of 1978.

Mrs. Shcharansky told reporters that French presidential adviser Jacques Tati had agreed to see her, and that she also had requested a meeting with Justice Minister Robert Badinter.

## Envoy to New Zealand

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The cabinet last week approved the appointment of Zvi Zimmerman, veteran Liberal Party member, as ambassador to New Zealand.

Zimmerman, a lawyer and a deputy mayor of Haifa, was an MK for many years before switching to municipal politics.

The previous ambassador to New Zealand, Ya'acov Morris, returned home in December.

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PRESIDENT YITZHAK NAVON returns home this week without any diplomatic agreements in his suitcase — he never intended to engage in politics or negotiations — but he leaves behind a great measure of understanding and appreciation of Israel's case.

Prime Minister Menachem Begin, although perhaps worried about Navon's possible future plans, should be more than pleased by the president's successes among angry critics and frustrated friends of Israel. Navon arrived in the U.S. at a critical time in American-Israeli relations, and a time of much confusion among American Jewry. He disarmed and charmed both groups by using frankness and openness as his major weapons.

In Washington, Boston, New York and even in the small college town of Athens, Georgia (where Ofira Navon paid a visit), the question everyone was asking was whether Navon would be Israel's next prime minister — as if the complexities of Israel's political system could be reduced to the American model of a popular candidate striving for the top of the ticket.

American papers generally claimed that the 10-day visit was a "testing of the waters" by Navon, and one New York daily even suggested that the president had come to the city to have secret meetings with millionaires to seek their financial support for his supposed campaign.

THE QUESTION annoyed Navon, but it did not surprise him. He stepped elegantly between the raindrops and responded, every time, that it was appropriate that he should announce his plans only in Israel, among his own people, and that his American questioners would have to wait until he did so next month.

But Navon never gave even a hint that he was running. He never used a single encounter with American groups — Jewish or gentile — to criticize Begin. He repeatedly emphasized those areas of consensus in Israel — against the PLO

## President between the raindrops

Judy Siegel-Itzkovich reviews the Navons' 10-day visit to the United States



Nancy Reagan and Ofira Navon.

(Ya'acov Sa'ar)

and a Palestinian state, against a return to the pre-67 borders, and for a United Jerusalem as Israel's capital — knowing full well that the American image of Israel is of a highly fractured, divided society.

He also went out of his way to praise President Ronald Reagan for his "sincere support for the State of Israel and its security," pointing out that Reagan "in his own way

believes that his initiative is for the good of Israel," but not voicing support for the controversial peace initiative.

Navon was so careful to avoid commenting on controversial matters that he would not be drawn into making a statement of support for the Reform and Conservative Jewish movements' demands for rabbinical recognition in Israel,

even though he personally favours religious pluralism as a means of uniting the Jewish people.

NAVON DID NOT encounter universal antipathy to Begin and his policies. A number of top-ranking intellectuals and professors, whom he invited for a conversation in Boston, admitted that they are "out of touch" with grass-roots opinion and do not speak for Americans in general or the Jewish community in particular.

But when others attacked Begin for his West Bank policies and claimed that Israeli Arabs had been turned into "second-class citizens," Navon countered forcefully and vehemently, explaining Begin's philosophy without himself endorsing it.

If Navon annoyed anybody, it was American Jews who don't like hearing that they are living in exile and that they should trade their "barren yet comfortable life for a challenging life in Israel."

There is no reason to doubt Navon's sincerity when he declared that his meeting with 1,500 potential immigrants in New York was the "highlight" of his visit. He clearly delighted in meeting so many future Israeli citizens, and in bolstering their confidence about aliya, rather than having to speak to an audience that was unlikely ever to consider such a step.

OFIRA NAVON, attracting much favourable comment because of her good looks and the beautiful Israeli fashions she had brought along, proved that she had a good mind, too. She planned her side visits — to her graduate school in Georgia, to a school for gifted children and a college for the deaf — with great care and thought, and arrived with Israeli-made gifts of books, games and recordings. Her press conferences were well-attended, and she skillfully represented Israel at every occasion.

But even before she boarded the plane, she had become a target of unfair press criticism in Israel — mostly in the Labour Party's *Davar*,

which had claimed that she intended to push her way into a meeting with the UN secretary-general to promote her proposal for a refugee city for orphan children.

There are those in the Navon party who believe the story emanated from Labour sources worried by the idea of a Navon candidacy who wanted to warn Navon what is in store for him if he decides to run.

As soon as she arrived, a number of Israeli reporters — based in the U.S. or accompanying the party — sent articles home attacking Mrs. Navon. She had spent "hundreds of dollars" on a fur hat, claimed one report, when in fact the actual price had been \$117 for a hat to protect her from the winter cold. Other reports claimed she had "embarrassed" her husband by not appearing at a Washington assembly of Jews. In fact, Navon himself had appealed to Ofira to rest and not to attend because she was tired out by other appearances. It was also claimed that she had "pushed her way" into a luncheon meant for men only at the White House. In fact, she merely shook Reagan's hand at the White House.

Ofira was so upset by the press reports that she broke down privately, and was unable to appear in public for 24 hours. Navon called reporters aside during the flight from Boston to New York, defending his wife and pointing out that the press had been unfair.

"If you want to criticize a speech saying it was too long or not good, say so. But why write such nonsense about hats and embarrass me?"

After the president's protests, a few journalists interviewed Mrs. Navon. She charged that the press was guilty of "character assassination" and that she had been treated unfairly.

It is a pity that Navon was forced to expend some of his energy in defending his wife rather than defending Israel against its critics.

The writer, a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff, accompanied the presidential party on its U.S. tour.

## IDF's 'cold war'

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT/ Jerusalem Post Reporter



Israeli soldiers dressed for the weather.

(IPFA)

stores of food, water, fuel and ammunition. Long dark corridors of light brown metal sheeting lead to outlying gun and observation positions.

But there are differences. Instead of massive concrete, deep in the ground which gave the Bar-Lev line a look of permanency, the new line is made up of less durable materials, even freight containers, which can easily be removed.

The shooting positions are nicknamed "aquariums" because they are encased in glass and provided with heaters against the cold wind; temperatures in the Bekaa Valley in the east may drop as low as -10°C.

Above ground, containers are equipped with hot showers and recreation quarters have colour TV, video sets and kitchens with gas burners, refrigerators and sinks.

Nearby, the Medical Corps has put up an impressive centre complete with helicopter pads and well equipped operating rooms. Nurses move across the linoleum floors in cloth covered shoes.

They are awaiting the arrival of a Jacuzzi bath for the treatment of frostbite. Some Jacuzzis have already been installed in exceptionally cold camps such as the peak of Jebel Barukh, where temperatures may drop to -15°C.

To ensure accessibility, Israel has spent some \$250m. on building and improving roads, carving out some

50 kilometres of new roads — enough to reach from Tel Aviv to Ashkelon. Another 120 kilometres of road, equal to the distance between Tel Aviv and Nahariya, have been paved and 270 kilometres of existing roads have been repaired.

In some places phosphorescent metal poles have been placed along winding roads to mark the route when the area is covered with snow. Huge sums have been invested in clothing. Every soldier in the Northern Command has received a special set of warm clothes worth \$2,325 and soldiers serving in areas more than 1,000 metres above sea level or driving in open vehicles have been issued the quilted overalls, shoes with fur inner lining and a second pair with double lining so that air can be pumped in between.

The army has ordered 11,500 heaters for rooms, clubs, classes and roadblocks.

The preparations are in stark contrast to what is happening in the Syrian army. The Syrian soldiers have been issued long coats and those unable to find billets in the homes of villagers have moved into large drainage pipes. Some have makeshift huts covered with tin or nylon, and have gathered wood for fire.

Israeli troops have reported seeing Syrians remove the frozen bodies of dead soldiers.

## Premier's adviser rebuked after predicting '100 years of terror'

By ASHER WALLFISH  
Post Knesset Correspondent

Rafael (Rafi) Eitan, adviser to the premier on Arab terror, drew rebukes from most members of the Foreign Affairs and Defence committee last week for his Israel Radio interview in which he said, "We can expect another 100 years more of Arab terror." The MKs were also upset that Eitan came to the committee unprepared.

Several MKs told him bluntly that when he reappears this week, he should have the facts and figures at his disposal for presentation in an orderly manner. The NRP's Avraham Melamed said: "I think I speak for others as well as myself when I say that your presentation was infantile, threadbare, and detached from realities."

This drew a prompt rebuke from chairman Eliahu Ben-Elissar, who ordered Melamed's remark struck from the record.

Eitan said that his use of the phrase "a hundred years more of Arab terror" was a figure of speech, but that he nevertheless wished to sound a warning that Arab terror would not cease as long as Zionist realization still continued.

He said that PLO chairman Yasser Arafat had believed that the Israeli push into Lebanon in June 1982 would not last more than 10 days and would not go further north than the Zaharani River, because of international pressure. Arafat believed that once the Israeli advance was brought to a halt, the Arabs would launch a political campaign which would lead to a Palestinian state.

Eitan said that Israel could not be hermetically sealed against terrorist penetration, but that it possessed a well-oiled and well-coordinated anti-terror structure which could limit the terrorists to no more than the occasional strike.

He noted that his functions did not extend to Lebanon, where the IDF was responsible for counter-terror operations. He was responsible for Israel and overseas, and had partial functions in the administered areas, he explained.

Gaula Cohen (Tehiya) said that Eitan's interview was the sort which deterred Jews from immigrating to Israel. Predictions of 100 years of terror, or of peace around the corner, were equally harmful and reprehensible, she said.

Pinhas Goldstein (Likud-Liberals) said that Eitan had left the public with the impression that Operation Peace-



Rafi Eitan.

(David Rubinger)

for Galilee was a fiasco. The adviser's job was to talk to the prime minister and not to the media, Goldstein said. Mordechai Gur (Alignment-Labour) said that the Lebanon operation had been like pushing the water in a pool aside, only to see it flow back again.

Amnon Linn (Alignment-Labour) said that terror could be warded off by military action but never eradicated. The Arab countries had kept the terrorists on a leash from time to time, and Israel could get them to do so again by political means, Linn said.

Victor Shentov (Alignment-Mapam) said that Prime Minister Menachem Begin had predicted 40 years of tranquility after Operation Peace for Galilee, and now his own subordinate had contradicted him with his talk of 100 years of terror. In fact, Shentov said, recent Arab terror attacks had set Israel back decades.

Abba Eban (Alignment-Labour) said that Israel had lost more lives in Lebanon since June than it would have lost in many decades, but had achieved relatively little in return. The government had been irresponsible to suggest that the PLO could be eradicated by military means, Eban said.

Benny Shalita (Likud-Liberals) said that the PLO would have remained solidly entrenched had the IDF halted at the 40 km. line. It would have kept the initiative, while posing a simultaneous military and political threat.

## Police campaign to prevent more attacks

By MICHAEL YUDELMAN  
and ISRAEL AMRANI

TEL AVIV. — All police units including Border Police, Civil Guard, operations police, detectives and policemen from all the sub-districts last week launched a special campaign to prevent a recurrence of such terrorist operations as the grenade attack on the Egged bus a week ago Saturday.

The details of the police campaign were worked out with the Tel Aviv district's senior officers at an emergency meeting at district police commander Nitzav Avraham Turgeman's bureau.

Turgeman also appointed a special investigations team to continue the interrogation of the 19 Arabs still held by police as suspects in the attack which injured 12 persons, three of whom remain hospitalized.

The terrorist attack in Tel Aviv was not an isolated incident. During the past year, and especially since September, dozens of terrorist incidents have occurred in which bombs exploded, or were defused on time, mostly in metropolitan areas within the Green Line.

In one incident, which was played down, a car loaded with 280 kilos of dynamite, was defused hours before it was to explode at noon near the dining room of Kibbutz Hatzirim in the Negev. Investigation revealed that the car was stolen in Israel, smuggled across the border to Egypt, loaded with explosives and smuggled back.

In another incident two months ago in Herzliya, four persons were wounded, one seriously, when a bomb exploded under a public bench in the centre of town. A terrorist had placed the bomb in a basket under a bench, and it went off when an 82-year-old man touched it.

Seven months ago, police sappers prevented a major disaster in downtown Jerusalem when they defused a large bomb minutes before it was to explode at Friday's rush hour. The bomb was loaded with 4.5 kilos of highly-efficient plastic TNT.

Last week, a small bomb exploded near Zedekiah's Cave ("Solomon's Quarries") in Jerusalem's Old City, wounding one person. Police arrested 51 Arabs for questioning and later released all of them, police sources said.

Hassan al-Jawi, 65, a municipal maintenance worker, lost one of the fingers of his right hand when he touched off the bomb, which was in a trash container near the cave's entrance.

The group, here under the auspices of the World Zionist Organization's external-relations department, includes present and former members of the House of Commons.

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## There is somebody to talk to — and something to talk about!

There are signs of change in the Arab camp! Signs that suggest a willingness to recognize Israel and her right to a sovereign, secure existence alongside the other states of the region. Before our eyes a serious possibility is emerging for a comprehensive peace between Israel and the Arab world. This is a historic opportunity which calls for a courageous political initiative: the opening of a dialogue with all the governments and other elements in the Middle East to determine whether this new trend might lead to a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

The International Center for Peace in the Middle East calls on the Government of Israel and Israel's political parties to declare themselves willing to meet the leaders of the Arab world — collectively or individually — in order to explore the possibility of a settlement, based on mutual recognition, compromise and peaceful coexistence, which would bring the conflict to an end.

To pave the way for such negotiations, we call on the Israeli Government to:

- announce an immediate freeze on settlement activity in the occupied territories for the duration of the negotiations;
- accept the Reagan peace initiative as a basis for negotiations.

We call on the Arab states and the Palestinians to:

- declare publicly their willingness to open negotiations with the Government of Israel, on the basis of mutual recognition and peaceful coexistence;
- announce the complete cessation of hostilities during the period of negotiations.

Let us seize this opportunity!

Let Israel declare her immediate readiness for negotiations.

Members of the Executive Committee of the  
**International Center for Peace in the Middle East**

Shulamit Aloni, Yaakov Arnon, Naftali Blumenthal, Nissim Eliad, Arie (Lova) Eliav, Willy Gafni, Israel Gat, Yaakov Gil, Gabriel Glazer, Galia Golan, Aharon Harari, Zvi Kesse, Nawaf Massalha, Nathan Peled, Shlomo Rosen, Uri Sabag, Walid Sadik, Avraham Schenker, David Shaham, Chaim Shur, Mordechai Virshupski, Jasaja Weinberg, Arie Yaari

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## ISSUES

ISRAEL'S INVASION of Lebanon got a very bad press in Europe, Britain and Ireland. This was probably due in part to the character of the war itself, and to the way the Israeli Government handled it.

But although these factors explain why Israel might have deserved to be criticized in the press, they do not explain why it was criticized as heavily as it was. Without going into the question of whether Israel was right or wrong in any given instance, I would like to consider what makes Israel's wars special, whether right or wrong.

There are, I think, two sets of reasons why Israel's wars are special: a mundane set and a spiritual set.

In a mundane sense, Israel's wars are special because they are all fought in the Middle East. People know that what happens in the Middle East is much more likely to affect their pockets, their security and their future than, say, the war in Chad — especially since the Yom Kippur War, which the public perceives as having caused the oil crises which had such devastating effects on the economy and living standards of large parts of the world.

This relationship helped to determine European reactions to Israel's intervention in Lebanon. The basic reaction of many people was that Israel was once again rocking the unstable boat we are all in. Reporters themselves are not immune to such reactions. They, too, have cars and mortgages and expectations which were put at risk to some degree by what seemed a very drastic act on the part of Israel. The public was scared by what the war might do to them, and the media responded to that fear.

Moreover, this reaction took place within a general climate of opinion which is mildly but chronically unfavourable to Israel.

After the 1973 oil embargo, at a time when Israel was at a bloody and profitable economic offensive, the Western European countries tacitly agreed to view the Arab case sympathetically, and consequently the Israeli case unsympathetically, without getting in the way of the United States. These have been the parameters of European policy towards the Middle

# Why Israel's wars are special

By Connor Cruise O'Brien



East for the last nine years....

Even in free and democratic societies, governmental attitudes can affect the media quite powerfully under certain conditions.

These conditions apply where (a) the matter in question is an international one, (b) the national interest is involved, (c) the government is, on the whole, felt to be a reliable interpreter and defender of the national interest, and (d) there is no major clash between government and opposition on the matter.

These conditions have applied for some time in Britain in relation to the Middle East. Indeed, within the government, the media and the public, something like a national orthodoxy has formed in favour of the moderate Arab states. The media are thus mildly but chronically predisposed against Israel.

The second set of reasons why Israel's wars are special is what I call the spiritual set. I use the word spiritual in a wide sense, including ethical, moral, and psychological aspects. These factors are more subjective than those I discussed above, and their causes can perhaps only be guessed at.

Israel's wars are subjected to a much more intense ethical scrutiny than the wars of other countries.

The war between Iran and Iraq is discussed exclusively in terms of its potential political and economic effects on the Gulf states, oil and the material interests of Western Europe.

In addition to these economic and political analyses, Israel's wars evoke strong ethical and moral arguments which are lacking in discussions of most other international problems.

People sometimes claim that this is a compliment since it implies that more is expected from Israel than

from other countries. No doubt, but I should like to know more about the precise nature of this flattering expectation. Some of its manifestations are distinctly odd.

Thus Dr. David Owen, the former British foreign secretary, has suggested that Israel has a special duty to behave particularly well because the Jews have been persecuted for so long. It is one thing to use this argument in inter-Jewish discussions, but it seems to me a very odd argument coming from an outsider.

I would not care to use this argument myself because of one of its inescapable, though unstated, logical corollaries. If Israel has a duty to behave particularly well because the Jews have been persecuted for so long, it seems to follow that the descendants of those who have not been persecuted do not have a special duty to behave particularly well.

Were we to follow this logic to its conclusion, we would have to find that the descendants of the persecutors could be excused for behaviour which would be hard to excuse in other people and which would be quite inexcusable in the descendants of the persecuted. It is a strange pattern, but there it is.

CURIOUSLY ENOUGH, this theory seems to apply only to Jews. As it happens, I myself belong to a people — the Catholics of Ireland — which underwent a sustained persecution.

That persecution was not nearly as prolonged or as terrible as that undergone by the Jews, but it was terrible enough. It lasted for several centuries and destroyed a great number of people.

But I have never heard anyone suggest that the Irish are expected

to behave particularly well because of that historical experience.

More fundamentally, though, I think you cannot altogether disconnect European attitudes towards Israel from the relations of Christendom to the Jews over many centuries.

It would be a mistake to think that modern society in Britain and Western Europe has nothing to do with the sad prejudices of the past.

Under the secular skin, a lot of the old religious attitudes are still there, as attitudes if not as ideas consciously held. Notions of the kind propounded by David Owen still come flitting like bats out of the belfry of the post-Christian subconscious.

For Christians, traditionally, the Jews are a people of unique spiritual and ethical authority who were then found unworthy to possess that authority. That has been Christian teaching over many centuries and is embodied in a great deal of Christian iconography. I am not just thinking of the nasty iconography, I am thinking of very solemn and splendid statements in glass and stone.

A good deal of that Christian teaching over the centuries has held that the Jews were people who were great, but who suddenly turned out to be doing something very wrong. A good deal of recent commentary on Israel seems to me to follow the same essential pattern or grid, in a modern, secular and rational guise: We thought better of you, but you let us down.

This is not just anti-Semitism, though anti-Semitism does come into it.

A GREAT DEAL of the criticism was an ordinary human reaction to violent images on the television

screen. There is also, however, a connection between the attitude to Israel and the long history of Jewry and Christendom in Europe, and of Christian teaching about the Jews. Many of these historical attitudes have been carried over into the enlightenment era and the period of the Emancipation. I feel that the European attitude towards Israel is much more one of wonder and puzzlement than of plain hostility.

Jews have always been mysterious to Christians. In modern times, the existence of the State of Israel somehow confirms, concentrates, and magnifies this mystery, since very few people outside the Jewish communities of the world understand why Israel is there. No other nation has ever emerged into sovereignty by gathering its exiles in a territory which they had occupied nearly two millennia before.

It is the whole existence of Israel which its critics find intellectually and morally exasperating.

Except for a few fanatics and lunatics, these critics don't want to do away with it, but they do want very much to admonish it, to correct it, to tidy it up and trim it, to turn it into less of a paradox.

The Zionist case is astonishing, portentous and for most people altogether too much. The Palestinian case, by contrast, is very easy to understand. People who understand the Palestinian case and don't understand what Israel is, (in other words, most gentiles who concern themselves with the matter at all) are bound to feel, sometimes rather vaguely, that Israel is permanently at fault.

I have stated some reasons and guessed at some perhaps deeper ones why Israel's wars are special. But the fundamental reason is that Israel itself, in every sense of that greatly charged word, is special, always has been so, and always will be so.

The author is a former editor-in-chief of the Observer, London. He is also a former senior Irish diplomat and politician. This article is adapted from his address to the recent Jerusalem Post symposium on war and the media.

## BACKGROUND

Last year's 12 per cent drop in tourism means 135,000 fewer visitors and a \$70 million fall in foreign currency income. It also means trouble for almost every sector of a once-thriving industry. The Post's DAVID KRIVINE reports.

# The tourism doldrums

ISRAEL'S tourist trade is in crisis. Some blame the world's economic recession, but that excuse doesn't stand up. International tourism did not decline in 1982, or not perceptibly. In Spain, a rival country in the Mediterranean zone, the figures show a 5 per cent increase.

Israel has suffered a drop of 12 per cent. That means a loss of 135,000 visitors and \$70m. of foreign currency (not counting El Al). The chief cause is Israel's conflicts; and not just the Lebanese war.

Statistics tell the tale. The tourist inflow increased rapidly in 1970, 1971 (by 50 per cent), and 1972 — until the Yom Kippur War. It took three years to recover from that. The fall in 1973 was 10 per cent, with another five per cent in 1974; and even in 1975 there was no improvement.

Confidence gradually returned. The next five years showed a remarkable leap forward, as if to make up for previous neglect. By 1980 tourism had almost doubled (since 1975). The following year — well before the Lebanese incursion — decline began again: a drop of 3.3 per cent (world tourism in 1981 was up by 4 per cent).

Holiday-makers do not like trouble. Israel became a quarrelsome country from 1981: the air force bombed Beirut, Prime Minister Begin was rude to his German counterpart Helmut Schmidt, the agony of Yomit unfolded. Trippers shy away from these things, they seek peaceful places and friendly people. Israel has acquired an aggressive image.

Jews abroad rallied around, especially in America. Visits from the U.S. went on rising last year, by one or two percentage points. But 60 per cent of Israel's paying guests are gentiles, and their disenchantment is reflected in the figures for Europe.

Thus Britain and France, which have relatively large Jewish populations: minus 12 per cent. Scandinavia: minus 16 per cent. Austria: minus 26 per cent. Italy: minus 28 per cent. Germany — hitherto Israel's biggest source of foreign excursionists after the U.S.: minus 31 per cent. Germany has dropped to fourth place, after France and Britain.

THE ISRAELI government has an extraordinary proclivity for launching eccentric policies at the wrong time. It chose in this grievous period to introduce limitations on charters — in order to protect (of all undeserving institutions) El Al.

The Americans do not use charters to Israel, but the Europeans do.

Transport Minister Haim Corfu had banned "mixed charters." The habit of filling up empty seats by taking on Israeli passengers was forbidden — to prevent (again) any poaching on El Al's preserves. Charters can carry on each flight either Israelis or foreigners, not both.

The result is that they now take neither. Says Cassuto: "The big charter companies — Thomson of Britain, Neckermann of Germany, Cherbourg of Scandinavia — have

simply excised Israel from their listings.

Labour troubles in El Al have been damaging the airline's popularity among agents and tour operators for some years now; but the latest lengthy close-down was the last straw. Israel's national carrier had become a dynamic promoter, active in advertising, selling its services for all it was worth. Suddenly all that stopped. The company that had been carrying half of Israel's passengers dropped out of the sky.

The government tried to activate rival services previously discouraged. It is restoring cancelled privileges — but temporarily. Charters could not previously use airports that El Al frequented (Heathrow for example; they were sidetracked to Gatwick). Now they are free to do so.

Foreign airlines like KLM and Olympic could not pick up passengers in New York and then, after a stopover in their own countries, bring them to Israel, though they wanted to (it is called the Sixth Freedom). El Al vetoed that. Now the ban is revoked; but only for a few months, until El Al comes back on track.

Such temporary concessions are useless, the foreign airlines are not interested. They can't waste their time filling gaps at El Al's convenience. All this leads to the paradox that while Israel's hotels are half-empty, many would-be

Least affected are the 5-star establishments in central locations; but the process of erosion is reaching them too. Uzi Werner, capable manager of the Israel Resort Hotels Company, explains: "The Sharon in Herzliya depends on an overflow from Tel Aviv. For 90 days in the year (July, August and the festivals), Herzliya reigns supreme. At other times guests find it more convenient to reside in Tel Aviv. At the moment Tel Aviv has a tremendous over-capacity. Seized with panic, hotels there charge dumping prices." Werner goes on: "The incentive is to pick up a bargain in Tel Aviv rather than come out to Herzliya."

Three-star hotels are badly affected, both by the collapse of charter traffic and by the fact that 5-star hotels are charging 3-star prices.

It is amazing that such a drastic price-cutting exercise does not reverse the downward trend in tourism from abroad. There is a reason: the hoteliers have handled their sales campaign so ineptly that the outside world does not know about the price cuts.

IF HOTELS ARE currently flexible about charges for room and board, they make up for it on the extras, which angers many tourists. The Tourism Ministry has gazetted an order subjecting these extras to price-control.

What about cafés, restaurants, and tourist shops? They can overcharge too. "It's a problem," says Ministry director-general Raphael Farber, "and one that can't be solved by price-controls; so we've thought up something else."

He dives into a drawer and comes up with a slim volume that looks like a passport, and is in fact labelled "Israel Tourist Passport." It contains a list of recommended restaurants and shops, classified by grade according to criteria of good service and fair prices, and it will be issued to all new arrivals.

Every recommended restaurant will have to post up in its window a tourist menu with the cost stated in dollars. Every establishment will possess a complaints book in which the tourist can make his entries. The book is subject to inspection. The "passport" will also provide an address in the ministry for submitting complaints.

ISRAELI holiday-makers could take up the shortfall in foreign tourism, were they not so keen on travelling abroad.

In a bid to fill empty rooms, new low-price tariffs were issued in special promotion campaigns aimed at the local market.

Also, Tourism Minister Avraham Sharir has tabled a Vacations Bill which, among other things, will make the holiday allowance given to workers non-taxable.

The aim is to secure wholesome holidays for Israel's working people, and also to supply an expanding and steady source of local income to Israel's hotel industry, making it less vulnerable to periodic fluctuations in the foreign tourist flow.

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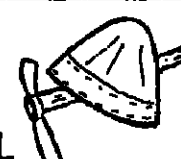
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## Scholar urges nuclear deterrence posture

Jerusalem Post Staff

Israel should adopt an overt and explicit nuclear deterrence posture to increase the odds favouring peace and security, according to a new book by Dr. Shai Feldman, a research associate at Tel Aviv University's Centre for Strategic Studies.

The book, *Israel Nuclear Deterrence: A Strategy for the 1990s*, published by Columbia University Press, constitutes the first detailed study of the effects and implications of altering Israel's strategy from conventional defence to nuclear deterrence.

While Feldman does not profess to know whether or not Israel presently has a nuclear capability, his position is the same in either case. If Israel has a nuclear capability she should declare it; if not, she should develop nuclear weapons and announce the capability. But, in Feldman's view, this ostensibly hawkish proposal is to be coupled with a flexible political posture regarding the territories Israel has occupied since the 1967 war, thereby improving the chances of a political peace settlement in the area.

"Once Israel adopts an overt nuclear posture, she would stand an excellent chance of deterring Arab efforts to challenge her basic survival. 'This gain,' says Feldman, 'will be retained even if the Arab states react by adopting nuclear deterrence postures of their own. The issue of Israel's survival will be more important to her than Israel's destruction will be to her neighbours. Should her survival be threatened, she will demonstrate greater willingness to run risks. The balance of deterrence will tilt in her favour.'

Another central claim is that Israel's nuclear posture may also deter her neighbours from opting for lower levels of violence, such as limited mobile war, wars of attrition, and guerrilla warfare. The author says that Israel's ability to deter such challenges would depend on the nature of the issue under dispute. Feldman points out that "Israel is unlikely to deter Arab efforts to regain some of the territories she has occupied since the June 1967 war. Her neighbours see these territories as their own, while Israel lacks a national consensus on the question of Israeli sovereignty over these territories."

In another book to be published soon, the Centre's Zvi Lurie says that there is no certainty that the IDF will not be surprised again, as it was at the beginning of the Yom Kippur War.

Lurie, a former IDF intelligence officer, headed the new intelligence unit set up at the recommendation of the Agranat Commission which investigated the intelligence shortcomings preceding the Yom Kippur War.

Lurie, discussing his book in the forthcoming issue of the army magazine *Hemdah*, says that it was wrong and dangerous to think that by simply removing the individuals at the top of the intelligence apparatus at the time of the war, and dividing intelligence functions among several bodies, the IDF could never again be surprised by an enemy.

He says that the reasons for the 1973 intelligence failure went much deeper — they were of a social and political nature. These have yet to be addressed satisfactorily, he adds.

## Dry Bones





ON THE FRONT page of Agudat Yisrael's daily *Hamodia* of December 23, 1982, an electrifying advertisement in Yiddish overshadowed all the news of the day. Under a photo of a \$100 bill the ad read, "Men git dir? Hap!" (They're giving you? Grab!)

The ad, inserted by the Cohav Hashomron town development company of Bnei Brak, was referring to the nearly free land and munificent housing subsidies available to settlers in the new towns already rising on the western slopes of Samaria. Similar developments are also sprouting in Judea, around Jerusalem. The \$100 bill, something of an exaggeration, as is common in such commercial come-ons, referred to the estimated monthly mortgage payments for the smaller flats being offered in new towns such as the exclusively *haredi* (ultra-religious) Emanuel.

We have already referred to the combination of need, greed and ideology which are the motivating factors in the new spurt of settlement in the occupied territories of Judea and Samaria. The Cohav Hashomron ad is an example primarily of the need factor. It is aimed at the many young ultra-Orthodox families who live in desperately overcrowded conditions in such *haredi* strongholds as Bnei Brak. One of the major selling points of Emanuel is the fact that it is only 30 kms. from Bnei Brak.

The particularly piquant aspect of this ad was that it appeared in *Hamodia*, the paper of the traditionally anti-Zionist Agudat Yisrael, and not in the National Religious Party's *Hatzofeh*. While the NRP and its younger elements in its Bnei Akiva youth movement and its Gush Emunim offspring have been the major ideological elements behind the settlement of Judea and Samaria in the past seven years, Agudat Yisrael had been decidedly cool about the whole matter, despite its participation in both Begin governments. Some of the *hasidic* courts associated with the Aguda, however, like those of the Gerer Rebbe here and the Lubavitcher Rebbe in Brooklyn, have in recent years come around to backing settlement in the territories and their annexation. The Gerer Rebbe is one of the main godfathers of the new town of Emanuel.

Deputy Minister of Agriculture Michael Dekel, one of the men in charge of the government's latest settlement drive in the areas told me: "Agudat Yisrael may not be Zionist in their identity but they are certainly Zionist in their behaviour, and Emanuel is not the only place where it is being expressed."

What in the terms of the *Hamodia* ad, is being given away? Land and housing subsidies that make it eminently feasible for Israeli families of differing means to make a giant leap towards realizing their dream homes.

YOUNG couples at the bottom of the scale, living in crowded conditions with parents, or in cheap, key-money accommodation can get flats in Ma'aleh Adumim near Jerusalem for a monthly mortgage of \$2,000 or others for the shekel equivalent of the \$100 bill in the *Hamodia* ad (\$1,100). Or they can make the jump from an average flat in the Greater Dan region of Tel Aviv to a villa or "cottage" on half a dunam of land for substantially less than the \$100,000 maximum that is the going price at posh Nofim.

Some — and this is where the greed factor rears its ugly head — are buying plots mainly for specula-



A block of apartments in the new town of Ariel on the West Bank.

(Goell)

The Jerusalem Post's YOSEF GOELL explores the dimensions of the great rush to the new suburban settlements springing up in Samaria.

## PROMISED LANDS

tion, hoping that the current land rush will enable them to make a quick resale at a handsome profit.

THIS RUSH is based on the accumulation in Israeli hands of land in Judea and Samaria. Of the close to 7 million dunams that constitute that area, 1.7 million are believed, on the basis of a meticulous search, to be state lands. Of this, between 200,000 and 500,000 dunams have been or are on the verge of being distributed for settlement and development. Another 30,000 dunams have been bought up by private purchasers.

In the purely legal sense, the state lands — which have come down from the Ottoman regime through the British Mandatory administration and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan — and the lands of local Arab absentee owners, are administered by the *kamat*, the relevant staff officer of the IDF military government. By international law, in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention to which Israel is a signatory, a military occupier is entitled to take temporary possession of such lands but not to pass them on in perpetuity for the building of private dwellings or commercial enterprises.

What this means in actual fact is very much in dispute, with the legal views advanced being usually in accordance with the political views of the legal experts writing the learned articles. The issue could become a real one if and when there is a peace treaty with Jordan, at which time the question of the disposition of these lands will undoubtedly arise. Until that date it remains a hypothetical question, and one that apparently does not bother the government or, more important, the thousands of Israelis who have been backing to buy the plots offered.

It is estimated that so far about 200,000 dunams have been distributed by the government to groups of settlers, private

developers and the settlement agencies of the government itself and of the World Zionist Organization. The distribution of such state lands is formally executed by the Israel Lands Administration, acting through the *kamat*.

DEKEL says that there are no clauses in the transfer instruments promising compensation of any form in case the lands have to be given back as part of a political settlement with Jordan. All the talk of people buying land in the hope of raking in windfall compensation *à la* Yamit is empty talk, he says.

"What this government is promising is that all this area will remain under the jurisdiction of the State of Israel. We tell people that if they're afraid to take the risk, they shouldn't go there. The fact is that they have been going, and in droves."

THE MEN who have been central in this distribution are Dekel himself; his assistant, Claude Malka, who is chairman of the "distribution committee" on which the various settlement agencies are represented; and Uri Bar-On, representing Minister of Defence Arik Sharon, the minister responsible for the military government.

The history of the development of the town of Nofim on such public lands is a good example of the urgency behind the latest settlement drive and the irregular methods to which it gives rise. About a year ago Danny Weinman, the head of the Anashim insurance company and now also the managing director of Nofim, was on a tour of western Samaria with a group of government officials.

"Uri Bar-On told me then and there 'Take this hilltop and plan it.' I guess he wanted to see if I was serious," says Weinman.

He did exactly that. He took an architect and planned the hilltop, which is part of an area around

Yakir slated to contain a number of such developments. In May 1981, when the officials saw that Weinman was "serious," Bar-On and Dekel gave his company permission to start bulldozing roads to the site and to prepare for building. This informal permission was granted even before Nofim had been given an official development contract to sign.

By November 1982, all was ready for the cornerstone ceremony. It was held on a rainy day in the presence of most of the 250 families who had bought villas even before one foundation had been laid.

Deputy Minister Dekel was not present, owing to a last minute tiff with his nominal boss, Minister of Agriculture Simha Ehrlich, who was peeved at the way Dekel jumped the gun in handing out authorizations for work on the site, as he had been doing for similar projects.

THE TIF, however, did not prevent Nofim from finally getting official approval and going on to sell 350 of the 700 villas planned for the site. These have been going for \$100,000, of which \$15,000 has been set as the initial down-payment. A good part of the remainder will be backed by heavily subsidized government grants, mortgages and bank loans at easy interest rates.

Encouraged by the phenomenal success of Nofim in selling non-existent villas, another developer has obtained land in similar circumstances for the construction of a settlement of 640 villas on a nearby hill-top.

IN HIS JERUSALEM office on Rehov Helenu Humaika, Michael Dekel explained the urgency behind the government's settlement drive. "Who knows how long we will remain in power — and whether those who come after us will continue to be devoted to the cause of the settlement of Judea and Samaria?" One of Dekel's main achieve-

ments is that, as opposed to the exaggerated, and ruinous, publicity which the early Gush Emunim settlers generated around their rather small settlement projects, he has been working mostly behind the scenes and with as little publicity as possible.

There is reason to believe that Nofim may well be the last instance in which public lands in Samaria will be given to untried developers for the establishment of villa cities. Dekel, at least, seems to be clear in his priorities for the distribution of public lands for building:

"First and foremost land should be given to settlement nuclei of people from different vocational groups who are clamouring to establish their own communities. There are thousands of families like that in Bank Leumi, in the Israel Aircraft Industries, in Herut's Youth Circles, in the Liberal Party and others. Then should come public housing and development companies; and only then, private contractors who can provide evidence of organizational and financial capacity and experience in actually building and developing new projects."

ALL THIS referred to public lands; but a good part of the highly publicized land and villa rush of the past few months is based on the estimated 30,000 dunams of private land that have been bought up over recent years from Arab sellers.

Up to six months ago, the entire process of land purchase was carried out in the greatest secrecy. Buyers worked through heavily-armed agents, who negotiated with Arab frontmen, fearful for their lives in view of the Jordanian decree of a death sentence for Arab land sellers.

In recent months, in response to changes in local opinion as a result of the shattering of the PLO in Lebanon — with its spin-off effect on the status of the PLO in the ter-

ritories — and the categorical rejection of the Reagan Plan by the Begin government, the picture has changed.

Informants say that Arab land sellers are falling over themselves trying to unload rocky hilltops which would have been snapped up by the agents for Jewish buyers only a year ago. Today, the Israeli buyers can afford to be much more selective, and are buying only those areas which have fairly good prospects of attracting villa-hungry Israeli buyers.

Most of this activity in the development of private land is concentrated within a band several kilometres wide just to the east of the former Green Line (the pre-1967 border) and the overpopulated Greater Tel Aviv area, and close to Jerusalem.

The Delta Investment and Trading Company is a case in point. Delta bought close to 800 dunams from private Israeli owners, who had purchased them from Arabs managed to sell most of the lots for private building on the site of Oranit, a settlement to be located 7 kms. southeast of Kfar Sava and just a few hundred metres off the cross-Samaria highway.

Lots comprising 600 sq.m. net are being offered for building, fully developed, at a price of \$15,000 and 500 sq.m. lots at \$13,500. By comparison, in nearby Ra'anana, lots of an eighth of an acre have been going for about \$100,000. Delta has sold nearly all its lots.

In the Jerusalem area, the Mizpe L'hniya company of Kiryat Arba has been offering quarter-acre lots at the so far untouched desert site of the Mizpe Ganim they are planning, four kilometres into the Judean Desert south of Ma'aleh Adumim, at \$3,600 for one-home sites and \$5,000 for two-home sites. These prices do not include the cost of development, which is promised to start in a few months on a cost-plus basis.

By comparison, eighth-acre lots for the Build Your Own Home scheme in Ma'aleh Adumim are going for \$40,000. The Kiryat Arba company claims to have sold nearly all the 700 lots in its first stage, without one grain of desert sand having been moved.

THE NEW settlers being attracted to the projects on state lands get even bigger bargains. They acquire their site for a down payment of only 5 per cent of its assessed value, compared with the astronomically higher leasing prices demanded by the Lands Administration in the built-up areas of the Greater Tel Aviv region.

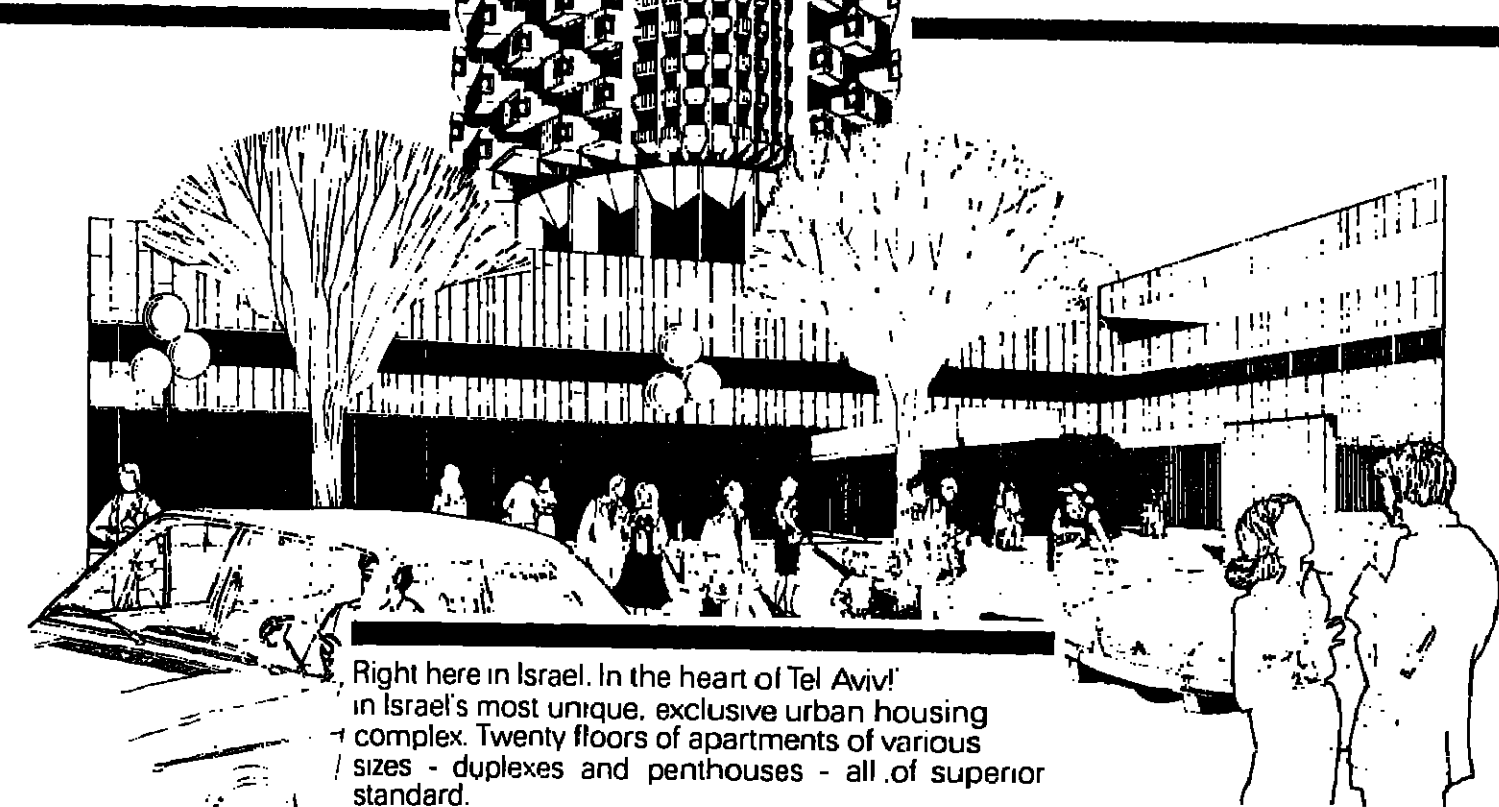
Major subsidization comes, however, for the development of the infrastructure of the community and for the house or flat itself.

Dekel of the Agriculture Ministry, Ben Yosef of the World Zionist Organization's Settlement Division, and Margalit of the Housing Ministry all showed me, or drew for me, maps slicing Judea and Samaria into areas of differential governmental aid in accordance with differential demand. The maps never left their hands, but the principle reiterated was the same: major aid would be given to settlement in the most difficult, least popular, areas — roughly those to the east of the Ramallah-Nablus highway and in northern Samaria and to the south of Hebron.

Least aid would be given to land abutting on the Green-Line in the west and just around Jerusalem, which is attracting the latest rush.

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**TILL** TENSION starts at Rosh Hanikra. There was always tension before a journey into Lebanon, but somehow never like this.

You now have to drive through Southern Lebanon wearing a flak jacket all the time, even in a car with civilian plates. There always have to be two armed guards in the car, and no matter what the weather, they have to keep the windows open, with their loaded guns at the ready.

You can only travel in a convoy of three or more vehicles. There are now roadblocks, and as you near the southern outskirts of Beirut, there is an Israeli armoured personnel carrier or tank stationed every few hundred metres.

Ironically, this has all happened over the past two weeks, as a result of the sharp increase in terror attacks against Israeli vehicles and objectives along the main coastal highway linking Israel with Beirut. Even during the war itself, travel — once you had crossed the border — was virtually unrestricted.

Now you travel in fear. Every turn in the road, every orange grove, is approached with caution and suspicion. It may all be imagination, as is probably the hostility you read into the eyes of those you pass; but yet the fear is very real.

Witness to the tension in the car as we drive towards Beirut is the flow of macabre jokes, stemming more from nervousness than humour.

NO ONE is sure who is behind the recent attacks, the most serious of which was the wounding of 22 Israeli soldiers near Kafr Sill last week, but official Israeli sources have blamed lax Lebanese control of movement along the Beirut-Tripoli highway for the influx of terrorists into Southern Lebanon.

There is doubt, however, about whether the dozen or so incidents during the past two weeks have been guided by one hand. There are those who blame the PLO; others point a finger at the Syrians. There is one theory that the attacks against Israeli objectives are actually being carried out by Christian fringe groups who want a deeper Israeli military involvement in the region, which they assume must come if the IDF wants to protect itself.

It could be none of these, but a combination of all three, for the purpose of the attacks has been varied. Several, like the Katyushas found directed at Kiryat Shmona two weeks ago, have clearly been aimed at disrupting the peace talks. Others, like the bus attack last Friday, were directed at restricting freedom of Israeli movement around Southern Lebanon.

Many people have an interest in achieving one or both of these goals. The Druse in the Shouf, for example, fearful of Phalange vengeance once the IDF pulls out, would prefer that there be no partial Israeli withdrawal before an ironclad guarantee of their safety and semi-autonomy is achieved. While the Palestinians should, logically, want the IDF out of Lebanon as quickly as possible, they understand that Israel's withdrawal will be conditional on their own. They could therefore be interested in putting off any agreement for as long as they need to organize an alternative infrastructure in Lebanon.

And while the security forces baffle over who and why, even though there are some tangible leads, the army is forced to move with stealth and caution, as are all Israelis.

Defence Correspondent Hirsh Goodman takes a trip through surreal Lebanon and experiences psychological shock in passing from East Beirut to West Beirut, 'from where you have friends to where you have none.'

## Journey into fear

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to do otherwise. The roads are narrow and lined with houses and other buildings, walls, orchards and nurseries. The terrorist has unlimited opportunities. He can attack with an RPG from a hill above the road, or toss a grenade over a wall. Or he can resort to the cowardly but effective tactic of laying a mine, or planting an explosive-laden car on the edge of the highway to be activated by remote control when an Israeli vehicle passes.

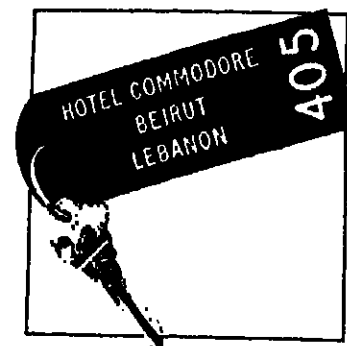
The opportunities were always there, but for the six months or so that Israelis have been treating Southern Lebanon as if it were an extension of the West Bank, they were hardly ever seized. Security was never really a problem. But since the thinning out of Israeli forces after the capture of West Beirut, and the development of the negotiating process, terror has become a problem.

It's not going to change anything, and is mainly of nuisance value; but it does indicate a political dynamic which may splinter and die, or could get worse.

FOR THE ISRAELI visitor, Lebanon is becoming an increasingly spooky, yet fascinating place to visit. One is surrounded by a constant buzz of speculation, and there is an omnipresent sense of uncertainty. The whole place seems to be twirling, wheels within wheels. There are so many things happening: Tripoli, where pro- and anti-Syrian Alawites are killing each other; the Shouf and downtown Beirut, where Druse and Christians are locked in sporadic battle; Parliament House, where a Christian president, a Muslim prime minister and Druse representatives are divided in their elementary political perceptions; the refugee camps, where the Lebanese army is trying to exert control, but fearful of coming upon



any real opposition; the confused role of a multi-national force representing three governments with different ideas about the future of the Middle East; the 6,000 unemployed members of the UNIFIL contingent; Haddad and el-Amal... and on and on and on. Incredibly, against this dizzying backdrop, the Lebanese pound has been getting steadily stronger, and opulence is again beginning to border on the gaudy. There are tons of garbage in the streets, but the lights more or less work, as do the phones.



It was surprisingly easy to order a taxi from the offices of the Israel Foreign Ministry situated in a magnificent villa near the Lebanese Ministry of Defence. The driver spoke virtually no English — just enough to answer our question as to how much it would cost to get from the villa (rented from an absentee Saudi Arabian princess through the good offices of her Beirut lawyer) to the Commodore Hotel in West Beirut with the very Levantine, "Whatever sum comes upon you." We eventually settled for \$25 for the 15-minute journey.

It was already dark as we started down the hill for this first visit into West Beirut since Israeli forces withdrew from it some three months ago. This only added to the nervousness of a British colleague and myself. I was nervous because I had no identification documents other than my Israeli press card; he was nervous because I was nervous. The only one who was unperturbed was our driver who apparently saw nothing strange in picking up two people at the Israel Foreign Ministry office and driving them to the famous Commodore, which until only recently was considered PLO-controlled (and some say still is).

He was also unperturbed by the road blocks, some manned by the Lebanese army, others by the Lebanese Forces, and undoubtedly watched by representatives of almost all of Lebanon's private armies. He apparently knew the guards well, for all he did was wave and switch on the car's inside light, illuminating our overly calm, overly smiling faces, and the British passport my companion was flourishing with too much enthusiasm.

PASSING FROM East to West Beirut, from where you have friends to where you have none, is a psychological shock. On your left is the shell of the Museum, ahead, the twinkling lights of a city pulverized into submission a few short months ago. There are still Christmas decorations strung up between the fronts of busy stores. There are lots of young faces in the crowd flashing into the window-frame of the taxi.

The city seems remarkably intact. No more potholes or skeletal ruins than in East Beirut. The lavish shop-window displays give an impression of an affluent society rather than one at war. New model cars are enmeshed in a moderate traffic jam.

Flashing neon signs heighten the surreal quality of the scene that presents itself to a very nervous Israeli reporter with no credentials, driving towards uncertainty in a city where law and order are determined by the individual. He knows that what he is seeing is but a facade of normalcy; an illusion as treacherous as gift-wrapping on a parcel bomb.

THE COMMODORE is something else again. It survived the war unscathed, its shield being the huge semi-permanent foreign press contingent that made the hotel its base. It is owned by a Palestinian who is known to be a big donor to the PLO, undoubtedly more out of fear than love, and it was at the Commodore that the PLO held its daily press conferences. It was also here that all official guests of the PLO were housed.

Inside the hotel there are eyes everywhere. The desk clerk is casually polite and efficient. At either end of the desk stand men labelled as security personnel by their bored expressions but alert eyes. My colleague, who pays for two rooms with an international credit card, is somewhat taken aback when the clerk asks him where his Lebanese visa is. This has never happened before: a passport alone was all that requested in the past.

The clerk shows no surprise at our explanation that we have crossed over from Israel to cover tomorrow morning's peace talks at Haddad, but whispers something to the man with the bored look standing near him. We guess that he is reporting the missing visa. The security man's expression does not change: he merely nods, and my colleague is given a key.

Contrary to our expectations, since he has paid for the rooms, I too, am asked to fill in a registration card. I use a poor pseudonym: I just



transpose my family and first names, and say I represent a London newspaper whose address I vaguely remember. When I'm asked for my passport, I say that I left it in the car and the car is with the driver and the driver will only be back at 9:00 p.m. — that's to say, in about three hours.

"No problem," says the clerk as he again approaches the security man and whispers another verse in the developing odyssey of the two irregular guests who have just arrived from Israel.

In order to establish our credibility, we ask after several big-name journalists we know are living at the hotel. Probably we are trying too hard. None of those we ask for is in, and suddenly we feel very lonely.

PRICES at the Commodore are outrageous. A beer is \$5, dinner over \$50, a room over \$100. But the mounting bill seems a small price to pay if this totally unnecessary adventure ends harmlessly.

We sit in the room for half an hour, literally waiting for a knock on the door. In the best-case possibility, we hope that it will be the Lebanese authorities. There would be a minor diplomatic flap and perhaps a night in custody, but it would work out. In the worst case, we can expect the representatives of any one of the two dozen violently anti-Israeli organizations still known to be active and organized in West Beirut. No knock comes.

We venture down to the dimly-lit bar, our presence at least to our fevered minds, attracting the immediate attention of the two dozen men and two women drinking but hardly talking. We feel that these people are at work rather than enjoying a drink away from it.

As opposed to the bar area, the dining room seems friendly. Four Americans are eating loudly in the corner near the grill, and our two waiters are unctuously attentive. Two-and-a-half hours in never-never-land have passed uneventfully yet eventually. Only half-an-hour left before our taxi arrives to take us back to the Israeli villa for a scheduled late-night meeting with an Israeli official.

The two of us decide that it will be best if I do not sleep at the hotel, but that he, who has bona fide credentials, does so as not to arouse too much suspicion. The problem is how to walk through the lobby carrying an overnight bag. We manage that, even stopping at reception, to leave a message for a friend who has not yet come in.

UNBELIEVABLY, the taxi was there and waiting. Why not? It's not every day you find two suckers willing to pay \$25 for a \$10 ride. We greet the driver like an old friend, the ebullience of the backslapping being genuine enough given our urgent need of friendship, any friendship. We could have sworn that there was a car following as we left the curb, but after six blocks or so it turned off to the right. It was at that moment that I decided to frame the key to room 405 of the Hotel Commodore, Beirut, and keep it as my own personal monument to idiosyncrasy.

The psychological barrier between East and West Beirut is apparently still very real for the inhabitants of that city too. Those identified with the rival camps that killed each other over the Green Line for eight years do not venture far from home ground, and certainly not openly from one side of the city to the other. During the day workers cross the lines in their tens of thousands, but at night people entertain themselves on their own side of what still seems to be an unsurmountable border between two parts of the same city.

It is always with relief that one leaves Lebanese territory. Relief not only from the physical dangers, but from the bad memories evoked at every turn.

Once, visiting Lebanon was sad. Then it became sad and confusing. Now it is sad, confusing and frightening.

## COMMENTARY

### Stocks and bondage

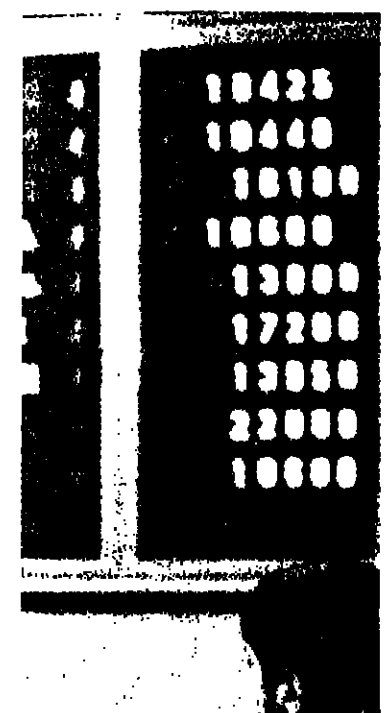
Ephraim Kishon

A PROPER FATHER with his children's welfare at heart should know when to spare the rod and spank the child; how much more so a government, which is charged with the welfare of us all. The trouble is that some citizens won't heed their leaders' good advice, and neither stick nor carrot will make them abandon their economic views, be they as dated as last year's exchange rates.

Take the subject of imports and exports. The little Israeli used to consider the export of our products a national achievement, the more the better, while any rise in imports was a disaster. Economic theories are constantly updated, however, and the little citizen has come to realize over the past year or two that exports are, in fact, a frightful burden on our treasury.

The reason is that our Min. of Fin. is called on to support all kinds of productive enterprises, wasting huge sums in export subsidies, grants, boosts, and other forms of state charity, whereas a large-scale import of cars, televisions and video sets — to name but a few bare necessities — can put millions in the national kitty through customs, purchase tax and VAT. What's more, the government doesn't risk a thing, and spares itself having to court all those lousy investors.

The same applies to our foreign debts. Somehow we had this idea



that accumulating such debts was a Bad Thing, and it took us a long time to learn that the more money a country borrows abroad, the greater the readiness of financial institutions to keep it afloat with ever new loans, lest said country collapse and stop paying its debts altogether.

BUT WHILE our public is slowly beginning to grasp fundamentals like that, the Authorities are still having trouble with a small but vociferous minority on questions of labour, productivity, and other such obsolete concepts. We are talking of those diehard conservatives who choose to ignore the fact that wages lag consistently behind our 130 per cent inflation, whereas play on the stock market earns one a modest but steady annual income of up to 5,000 per cent without any sweat.

The real wonder is that such a minority still exists; people who prefer to devote their time and effort to actual, old-fashioned work, with all the bother and material loss involved, rather than take a loan at the bank, buy shares or trust funds like everyone else, and make an honest living that way.

Our financial authorities, we know, do what they can to wean this stubborn lot away from its bad habits, both through information campaigns and, more simply — by punishing work. If, in other words, you insist on getting up in the morning and working all day like a fool, they slap a fine on you in the shape of a 60 per cent income tax plus Galilee, while if you provide for your family as you should by making a couple of phone calls to your broker or bank, you are granted near total exemption on all your profits.

What is involved, to be sure, is only a small bunch of sworn workaholics. But a responsible government must provide all its citizens with a decent income. They are doing their best, as we said, by such things as punishing work, but let's face it: the Administration has no legal means at present to stop the citizen from engaging in physical or mental labour if he so wishes.

For the time being, therefore, it would appear that all the Admin can do is advise the population that if a man fancies working six days a week and handing over two-thirds of his earnings to the government, rather than opt for almost tax-free stocks and bonds, he is welcome to his precious job, we wish him joy at it.

SPEAKING for ourselves, we feel the government could do more to spread the message of all play and no work. It's in our own interest, after all, as anyone who bought himself some Maror stock on the exchange last year (at an annual profit of 558 per cent net), and a bit of Rubber Duhber (492 per cent net) or homed in betimes on Yossi Pitzkel (644 per cent net) or on Yisrapop (547 per cent), will not only have it made as far as he himself is concerned, but won't be a burden on public and state.

From here it wants just a small step to the obvious conclusion that every citizen over 18 should be obliged by law to purchase bonds, index-linked, dollar-linked or shares. It's like compulsory education or national health insurance: the compulsory bond.

People at the Min. of Fin. object to such a law, arguing that it's hardly necessary to force the funds on a handful of stand-patters, as common sense is bound to prevail sooner or later. And then even the last of the workers will give in and move to the stock exchange of their own free will.

That is as may be, but we don't think the Min. should content itself with pious hopes or rely on miracles where the health of our economy is at stake, especially now that we are on the verge of economic independence.

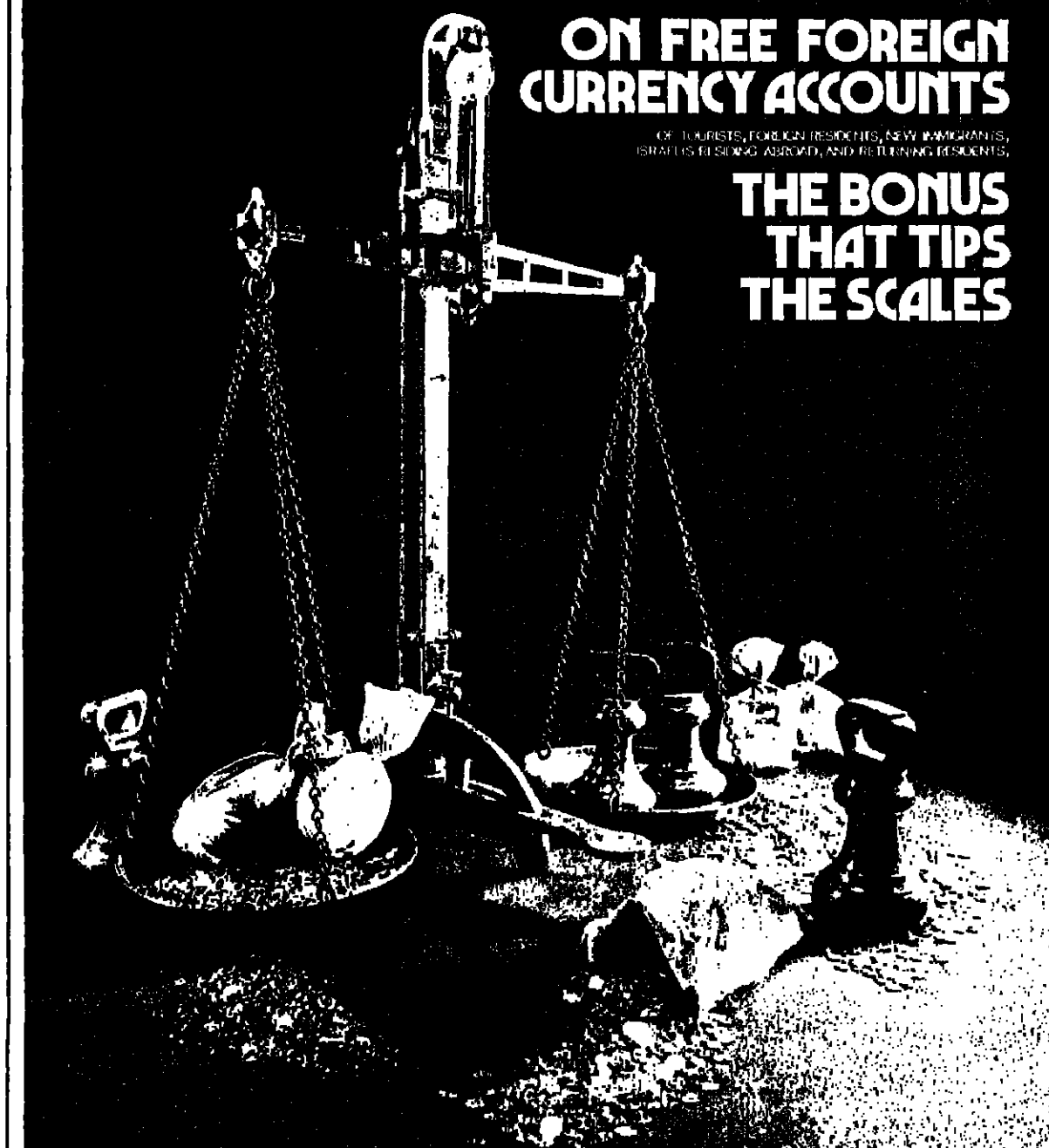
Come to think of it, the compulsory bond idea seems so reasonable, this writer believes he'll take it to the stock exchange and issue 126,000 new shares op. B on it. Place your orders today.

Translated by Miriam Arad.  
By arrangement with Ma'ariv.

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# CONTROVERSY

## No alternative to WZO

By Abraham Schenker

NON-EVENT? The recent 30th Zionist Congress held in Jerusalem can be criticized — for the deficiencies in organization; for distortions of democracy in the pre-congress membership drive, because of the few elections held in the various countries; for the lack of respect for constitutional procedures shown by some members of the Presidium and by delegates and certain factions. While these deficiencies should be rectified, the media, in reporting the event, searched for the piquant, the irregular, the violent and the rancorous. Behind the smokescreen of sensationalism, are some important realities, which have not been generally noted.

The 30th Zionist Congress attracted a large proportion of young people in the 20-40 age group. To anyone who attends other international and national Jewish gatherings, it is clear that at the congress, more than in any other Jewish framework, young Jews sought and found expression, and on subjects of special interest to their lives. Nor has any other similar framework so consciously brought together representatives of the broadest spectrum of organized Jewish life. In addition to the representatives of traditional Zionist organizations and the so-called "parties" and the five world organizations that have been affiliated with the WZO since 1968, such bodies as B'nai B'rith International and the World Jewish Congress found it important to send large observer delegations to the congress.

Much has been made of the need for "depoliticizing" the Zionist movement and the Jewish Agency. Let it be clearly stated that it was the so-called Zionist "politicians" who decided to open the gates of the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist congresses to the very fund-raising bodies whose leadership sit as equal partners on the governing bodies of the Jewish Agency and exercise tight control over the funds they raise for the agency, and to the broad-based world-wide synagogue frameworks and to such groups as the World Sephardi Federation (which the WZO brought to renewed life) and to the Maccabi World Union.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT will either be the platform and the arena for ideological — and political — debate based on unconditional commitment to the people and the State of Israel, or it will cease to be the bell-weather of Jewish unity and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.

Some of the distasteful, even vulgar, scenes at the Zionist Congress are also evidence of a profound, if disturbing, reality in Israeli society and in the Jewish Diaspora. There are serious differences concerning Israel Government policy among committed Jews and Zionists. The problems of settlement priorities relating to the West Bank and the Arava, for example, or the issues of social and ethnic discrimination between Ashkenazi and Sephardi, are of deep concern to Diaspora Jewry and especially to the young people among them.

Let us make no mistake about these issues. If Israel belongs to the entire Jewish people, then its real problems deserve to be aired at a Zionist forum. If not there, then

Jewish youth will seek their answers elsewhere.

The alternatives proposed by some commentators on the Zionist Congress are two-fold. One wants to follow the Ben-Gurion dictum to do away with the WZO, the scaffolding that is no longer necessary since the building, the Jewish State, has been erected. The other wants to convert the broad pro-Israel sentiments of the Jewish people into a "Friends of Israel" organization and transfer the allocation and distribution of the WZO-Jewish Agency budget to a "new, independent, non-profit, professionally-operated foundation."

The 30th Zionist Congress, in some ways, was a forewarning of what might happen if the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora became the responsibility of some government ministry in Israel instead of the complicated and occasionally untidy framework of Jewish and Zionist life. The Zionist Congress, at least, tries to reflect the organizational, spiritual and political pluralism of the Jewish world, as it is. A direct line from the Israel government, no matter of



"The WZO is overwhelmingly utilized for very real work" in Jewish education and youth activities.

what coloration, to the Jewish communities, would be monolithic, politically one-sided and averse to difference or dissent with its consequences for Jewish unity.

The second approach would inevitably lead to the dominance of the typical philanthropic way of doing things with the well-to-do contributor deciding on priorities and the professional staff determining the agenda and the goals.

The Jewish community leadership in the Diaspora has never shown a readiness to upset the status quo or encourage democratic structure or debate in their constituencies. The conventions they will hold will be tidier, smoother and better stage-managed, but they will also eliminate or sidetrack any conceptual debate or difference.

WITHOUT ALIYA, there is no Zionism. The 30th Zionist Congress did not find ready prescriptions for the decline in aliya in recent years. But it did place on its agenda the need for a world-wide autonomous framework to encourage and give priority to the realizers and ful-

lers, including Telem, Tnuat Aliya, the youth movement *garhim*, the volunteers and others.

Spurred by the Dor Hamahech and by the Zionist Youth movements, supported by those who seek to place *aliya* and *hagshama* at a new, priority level in Jewish life, the Zionist Congress began to grapple with this crucial problem. Does anyone imagine any other framework, including the Israel government and certainly the other world Jewish organizations, putting this subject on their agendas, let alone trying to deal with the problem seriously?

Perhaps the idea of a high-priority *hagshama* framework, a kind of modern pioneering movement, within and part of a mass-membership Zionist movement devoted to Zionist education and information activities, is the answer.

The writer has great respect for Prof. Eliezer Jaffe in his field of expertise. But to write of the lack of "moral qualms... about their role in dividing up UJA and Keren Hayesod spoils (added emphasis) among the Israeli political parties" is either a matter of ignorance or simply nonsense. Whatever one may think of the inadequacies of the Zionist structure, the Zionist budget administered by the WZO and the Jewish Agency is overwhelmingly utilized for very real work in *aliya*, in settlement, in Jewish education and youth work and in the mobilization of support for Israel and Zionism.

To denigrate this broadly-based, world-wide activity of many devoted, committed and highly professional individuals by use of the term "spoils" is to ignore the fact that the Zionist movement is today the motivating and activating force for the Jewish future.

What is Jewishly and universally meaningful in Israel and in most Jewish communities in the Diaspora is at least partially, perhaps substantially, the result of the work of the youth emissaries, the educators and teachers, the Youth Aliya counselors, the kibbutzniks and moshavniks, the lecturers and the fund-raisers who are the emissaries of the Zionist movement in the Diaspora and in Israel itself.

Those of us who know the failures, the failings, the inadequacies and the problems of the WZO and the Jewish Agency best (and from within) call for a halt to the too-easy, often uninformed, sometimes self-interested denigration of the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Congress.

What is needed is a serious self-critique accompanied by a high-level, broadly-based commission to review the structure and the functioning of the World Zionist Organization. This is exactly what the chairman of the outgoing Zionist Executive called for in his opening address. One need not throw the baby out with the bath water.

What we need is not an alternative to the Zionist Organization, but a renewed concept of Zionist thought and deed, with revised priorities emphasizing *aliya* and Jewish-Zionist education and a restored sense of purpose aimed at converting the great mass of pro-Israel Jews into conscious Zionists.

The writer was released to the Zionist Executive at the 30th Zionist Congress; he heads its Department of Development and Community Services.

# PEOPLE

## An offer refused

PUBLIC FACES / MARK SEGAL

THERE'S BEEN much talk this week of U.S. envoy Morris Draper's attempts to break the agenda deadlock at the Halde-Kiryat Shmona talks. But we have learned of one impasse almost certain to resist all the persuasive powers that possibly could be mustered by Draper or his senior colleague, chief U.S. Middle East envoy Philip Habib.

During a break in the discussions at Kiryat Shmona, the crew of the local Habad "Mitza Tank" tried to put on *tefillin*. After a successful "ambush" on the Israeli delegation, headed by Foreign Ministry Director-General David Kimche, the faithful hassidim of the Lubavitcher Rebbe looked around for new worlds to conquer. But the next group that happened by turned them down flat. It was the Lebanese delegation, headed by the ever-so-diplomatic Antoine Fattal, who remarked politely: "Things have not gotten quite that far yet."

INCIDENTALLY, Kimche's performance at the talks reportedly has gratified Prime Minister Menachem Begin. I've learned that Begin resisted pressure from Defence Minister Ariel Sharon that Aluf Avraham (Abraham) Tamir, and not Kimche, head the Israeli delegation.

That's only one of several occasions on which Begin has overruled Sharon lately. My sources tell me that the Premier is very much in charge, despite his obviously insoluble grief for his late wife, Aliza. Begin has been very low-key since returning to work at the end of the 30-day mourning period, making hardly a public appearance and shying away from interviews. His mood is also clear in the Knesset, where he exchanges hardly a word with his neighbors at the Cabinet Table. Also missing are the lively luncheons at the MKs' dining room, over which the late Mrs. Begin would preside with great charm.



Annette Dulzin

SILENCE BROKEN. Herutniks have noticed that after two years of silence, Annette Dulzin has again had some anti-Begin articles published, including one in *The New York Times*. Party men set a clear connection between this development and the re-election of her husband, Arye Dulzin, as chairman of the Jewish Agency.

MEDICAL MATTERS. The controversy over Deputy Premier Simha Ehrlich's decision to undergo cardiac surgery in Minneapolis occupied lots of newspaper last week, with Health Minister Eliezer Shostak shrugging: "Don't ask me. Ask the doctors."

We've been led to understand that the trip was opposed by Dr. Henry Neufeld of the Sheba Medical Centre, who is also president of the International Society of Cardiolologists. But the Health Ministry committee which supported the trip was also influenced by the opinion of Prof. Danny Gur, head of the cardiac surgery department at Sheba. According to family sources, Dr. Gur said that even the best surgeon might not perform well under the stress of operating on a senior minister. Our sources say that the two eminent professors took virtually the same positions on Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren's Cleveland heart surgery a couple of years back.

I CERTAINLY HOPE that author-broadcaster Yitzhak Ben-Ner won't get in trouble for his comments last week on the Army Radio. Referring to talk about King Hussein's possible involvement in peace talks, Ben-Ner said that the U.S.'s problem "is how to conduct talks with the Palestinians without seeming to deal with them, while Jordan's dilemma is how to deal with Israel while appearing to have nothing to do with the Jewish State." He concluded: "As for Israel, the problem is how to negotiate without been seen giving or taking."

PRESSING ISSUES. Bar Ilan University's new communications and journalism unit was launched with an interesting description of journalistic work by Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. He said: "The public does not have the absolute right to know everything. Journalists don't have the duty to tell all. Israeli newsmen do harm to the national interest for their own professional advancement." Speaking of leaks, Shamir had this to say: "Although the man who leaks state secrets is mainly to blame, the newsmen cannot go scot free. The criminal code has punishments for those who trade in stolen goods."

BELETED MEMORIAL. After a 60-year lapse, the memory of Zionist thinker Max Nordau will be honored at his Tel Aviv graveside this week. A public committee headed by Haifa University professor Yosef Nedava is organizing the ceremony. Contacted by phone, Nedava told me that although Nordau died in Paris on January 20, 1923, his remains were finally brought here in 1926.

Kol Yisrael is broadcasting a programme about Nordau. For that purpose, radio reporter Carmela Mennashe called the Zionist leader's 85-year-old painter daughter Maxa in Paris. The artist, who spoke in English, told the reporter "It's good my father never lived to see the goings on at the 30th Congress. It would have been a very sad day for him."

CANADIAN Ambassador Vernon Turner gave a reception at his Ramat Husheron residence last week for those involved in the first production of a Hebrew anthology of Canadian prose, translated by Arye Hagshava and jointly published by the Canada council and the Hebrew Publishers Association. The book contains a story by Canadian Premier Pierre Elliott Trudeau.

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## LITERATURE/THE ARTS

THE INSTITUTE for the Translation of Hebrew Literature has just marked its 20th anniversary. The institute, a government corporation, is partly responsible for the fact that works of Hebrew literature can be read in Afrikaans, Norwegian, Hindi, Welsh and Serbo-Croatian. Also some less exotic tongues: most translations are into English and there is increasing interest in French.

Funding for the institute comes mainly from the Ministry of Education and Culture, with additions from the Foreign Ministry and the World Zionist Organization. The budget is filled out by the sale of books and rights.

Dr. Yosef Michman-Melkman is chairman of the institute; the board of directors includes representatives of those bodies that foot the bills, plus the Writers' Association. As Prof. Gershon Shaked pointed out at an anniversary celebration, the institute is backed by the Establishment, but literature is by its very nature part of the opposition. The institute allows a less familiar side of Israel to reach audiences abroad.

The directorate of the institute appoints a four-man advisory panel of writers, critics and scholars to decide which works it should commission or support, and whether a translation is successful or not. The quality of translations is one of the main problems. So far, none of the members of the rotating panel has been a native English-speaker.

THE PERSON who handles all the day-to-day administrative work, negotiating a sea of egos, is Mili Cohen — close-cropped sandy hair, glasses large enough to take in a lot of print; mid-30's, down-to-earth. She shares a cramped three-room office in Tel Aviv's Rehov Shlomo Halemech with an assistant and a secretary, and with Isaac Goldberg, a bibliographer who tracks down every existing translation of Hebrew literature and periodically publishes a listing.

The institute has two basic ways of operating: either initiating the translation and publication of a work, in cooperation with local or foreign publishers, or subsidizing a translation which someone else —

## An 'exporter of the spirit'

By Marsha Pomerantz



A.B. Yehoshua



Dennis Silk

the author, translator or an interested publisher — brings to its attention.

IN THE first category are about 40 volumes, including *Three Days and A Child* by A.B. Yehoshua, an anthology of *Fourteen Israeli Poets*, edited by Dennis Silk, a dual-language edition of poems by Avot Yeshurun, *The Syrian-African Rift*, translated by Harold Schimmel, and Uri Orlev's *Lead Soldiers*, translated by Hillel Halkin.

For the last 10 years, much of the institute's work has been in the second category — subsidizing what usually amounts to about one-third of the cost of translation. The institute can be more flexible with subsidies than with financing publication. "We almost never say no if a publisher is interested," Cohen says. Works by Aharon Appelfeld, Yoram Kaniuk, Yitzhak Orpan, David Shahar and many others have been promoted by the subsidies.

IT'S HARD to find good translators, and because the rates are so low, the institute has trouble holding on to them when they do turn up. Two leading translators into English — Dalya Bilu for prose

and Harold Schimmel for poetry — work on contract with the institute, at higher than standard rates. But the pay is still better when it comes directly from a foreign publisher. Cohen says Hillel Halkin is one respected translator who rarely works with them now because it isn't worth his while.

A number of writers whose works were once translated by the institute — A.B. Yehoshua, Amos Oz, Yehuda Amichai, David Shahar — are now well-enough established to make direct contact with publishers abroad and have the publishers pay for the translations. For unknowns, publishers don't want to risk the investment in a manuscript they can't read.

The institute maintains contact with some publishers and agents abroad but has been criticized as unprofessional in its dealing with the foreign market. A periodical called *Modern Hebrew Literature* is produced intermittently and sent to publishers and libraries abroad, to interest possible buyers. Its editorship has changed hands several times in the last few years, and much of the writing has been stodgy, showing little awareness of the interests of foreign readers.

Cohen acknowledges that most of the deals with publishers are made by individual contact. But the system tends to be hit-and-miss. A number of unsold translations have been piling up on the institute's shelves. Some perhaps for lack of the right contact, but others probably because the people out there just don't want to read what the people here think should interest them. But interest, to some extent, is unpredictable. Cohen says the translation of *Lead Soldiers*, a novel about two boys during the Holocaust, remained in a drawer until the translator, Hillel Halkin, established contact with Peter Owen, the English publisher. The book has been considerably successful in England and in the U.S., where it has had two printings.

THE INFORMALITY of the institute's operation has given it something of the atmosphere of a ma-and-pa literary grocery. It is gradually becoming more sophisticated, but given its very limited means, it must choose between becoming a supermarket or a high-class delicatessen. It can't please everyone.

For example, it produced a large anthology of modern Hebrew poetry generally thought to be an uninspired cross-section, in uninspired translation. It has been described as "two bar-mitzva volumes to sit at the bottom of the closet of every cultural attaché abroad."

JERUSALEM POET Dennis Silk, who writes in English, was asked to edit a third volume in the series, and supplied with a stack of translations. He says he found "maybe 20-25 good poems in a huge manuscript." A lot of money had been spent on it already; he suggested that the institute scrap the manuscript, and offered to do one in its place for no charge, with new translations selected for their literary qualities even if they didn't represent the entire spectrum of Hebrew poetry. The institute accepted his suggestion — and also paid him — for what eventually became *Fourteen Israeli Poets*, published by André Deutsch in England.

Still, Silk complains, "the old translations keep floating up like the bellies of dead fish in *Modern Hebrew Literature*," after his anthology appeared.

The book represented a turning point in institute policy — favouring the delicatessen over the supermarket.

An anthology in Greek is being planned, also along the lines of *Fourteen Israeli Poets*. And Cohen says the institute has commissioned an anthology of Hebrew short stories translated into Arabic by Anton Shammas, an Israeli Arab who writes poetry in Hebrew. There have been some contacts with an Egyptian publisher, to put out a translation of A.B. Yehoshua's *The Lover*, which is about Arabs and Jews in Israel, but the literary negotiations have gone the way of other "normalization" projects, and in the end, the Arabic version may be published in Israel.

THE INSTITUTE is hanging a lot of hopes on a new periodical called *Fortcoming* — which combines Hebrew writing in translation and American-Jewish writing. It was initiated by David Rosenberg, a poet and editor who came to Israel from New York about two years ago, and it recently made its first appearance as a supplement in *Moment* magazine.

A similar venture is being planned for publication in France.

The institute is trying to maintain a balance between openness and efficiency, quality and commerce. As if that weren't difficult enough, an additional complication was cited by Prof. Shaked at the anniversary party: It's important for Israeli literature to be saleable abroad, he said, but it cannot be written for a foreign audience. If writers address the interests of their domestic audience, they'll be able to sell abroad as well. But "if they turn their faces toward the audience abroad, they'll have no face at all."

The institute's role is "exporter of the spirit," as he put it, and for all its problems, it seems to be doing a lot better than some of our other exports.

## Canadian 'Israelis'

dialogue. It was painful for her to do this. "I love the Hebrew language," she says. "But I knew that, unlike some of my other scripts, this one would not lose meaning if done in English."

Two years ago, in Canada, she found Astral Productions, which is headed by Harold Greenberg. Astral, in conjunction with Bellvue and Pathe-Canada, were willing to put up 30 per cent of the million-dollar budget. In Israel, Galia Albin, who had just become a partner in Roll Productions along with husband Mickey, provided the rest of the money. Pre-production, filming and lab work were done in Israel, but all the actors, as well as one of the executive producers, were Canadian. The actual shooting took six weeks.

Trope went to Canada to cast *Miri and Dan* and returned with Nick Mancuso, a Canadian actor who co-starred with Charlton Heston in *Mater Lad* and with Al Pacino in *Ticket to Ride*. She also brought Barbara Williams, a product of the Canadian theatre, Belinda Montgomery (who acted in *Valley of the Dolls* and had the

female lead in *Atlantic City*), and Andrew Rubin (known locally from the sit-com *Jessica-Navack*).

FOR executive producer Galia Albin, *Miri and Dan* is only the first of many projects she hopes to mount. Her ambition is to improve the quality of Israeli cinema. The attractive former industrial psychologist is convinced that, like Australia, Israel is capable of making films of international standard. Two years ago she enrolled to study film at Tel Aviv University, but she soon realized that she could do more by working in the field than by earning a bachelor's degree.

With her tycoon husband, she formed "Friends of Israeli Film and Television," investing \$50,000 in the organization.

Galia met Zippi a year and a half ago, after the director had returned from Canada with a financial commitment from Astral. "I liked her, finding her intelligent and well-rounded, so I asked her to let me see the script," recalls Galia. "I was very impressed. Mickey and I had already become partners in Roll Productions, a company I knew from the elections. Like me, they worked for the Likud. I brought them the script and now we have a movie."

JOAN BORSTEN



One of the waitresses at the new-look Café Rowal, the Dizengoff landmark which has re-opened in Tel Aviv.

## Coffee and cheesecake

By Martha Meisels

WITH HALF the country on strike some weeks ago I decided to take a busman's holiday. For a consumer reporter, this meant setting aside serious consumer problems and browsing around the commercial centres of Tel Aviv. I priced an ostrich egg, sampled the coffee at the revamped Café Rowal, discovered some second-hand clothes for men and hand-painted sweatshirts for children, and found a new shop selling

copperware, fabrics by the metre, and lots of earrings. Jewelry is a major item. Doreen herself makes stunning hand-made silver pieces. Her bracelets range from \$40 to \$250.

She also strings necklaces from all sorts of beads, including the traditional African glass trade beads and South American beads. There are necklaces from ancient Egyptian faience beads, ceramic beads made by a process that mixed the glaze right in with the clay.

A YEAR AND A HALF ago, I wrote about the closing of Tel Aviv's most famous coffee house, the Rowal, at 111 Dizengoff. So I felt it was only fitting that I should be there when it reopened recently at the same address, but upstairs. The cup of cappuccino with a huge glob of fresh whipped cream and chocolate shavings was delicious, and the rich cakes are being made by the same house-chef as before, Esther Peretz, but otherwise there is scarcely a reminder of the staid *Mittleuropa* atmosphere that permeated the old Rowal.

The new Rowal is light and airy, with wicker chairs and pink, blue and yellow tablecloths. There are lots of mirrors, and the espresso bar is supposedly a copy of the bar in London's Dorchester Hotel. The waiters and waitresses are all slim and young, dressed in black slacks and black shirts, no aprons. The new managers are scarcely older than their staff. Uri Rothschild, 31, and his brother Omri, 26, are sabras with a successful background in the business and theatre worlds.

The Rowal seats 230, and has balcony tables overlooking Dizengoff, so customers can see and be seen. Eventually, there will be sidewalk tables at street level too. A cup of coffee costs \$45, tea \$35; cakes range from \$55 to \$60.

It's open daily from 9 a.m. to 1 a.m., including Fridays and Saturdays. This is a clear departure from the old establishment, which closed on the Sabbath, and had a kashrut certificate during most of its years, until it began putting chairs out too early on Saturday afternoons. The old Rowal served dairy foods only.

The reconstituted Rowal is also a

non-kosher meat-and-dairy restaurant from noon onwards.

On opening day, I spoke to customers who had been regular patrons of the original coffee house. Unlike myself, they were satisfied with the new decor. However, they thought the service left much to be desired, after all the advance fanfare. "We expected to see flowers on the tables," two of them told me. One customer, who had deliberately skipped breakfast, said it should not have opened before the *croissants* were ready.

The only visible remnant from the former café, which reigned for more than three decades as the queen of Dizengoff, is the piano. But along with the traditional cream-topped cakes, it looks a little out of place in the trendy surroundings of bamboo and glass.

IT WAS inevitable that some Tel Aviv shop would grab the name "E.T." from the smash-hit film of the same name. Fittingly, it is a new shop for high-fashionwear for children, from infants to teenagers, at 216 Dizengoff.

It was opened by two housewives, with five children between them and no previous business experience. They are feeling their way to the right sort of merchandise, and currently have a combination of the higher-class local things plus some Italian imports, which are not much more expensive. The most eye-catching of the local products are the hand-painted, hand-dyed cotton sweatshirts for children, under the label "Little Tomatoes." Colourfully decorated with flowers, butterflies, snails and sunrays, they sell for around \$700. Visitors in search of Israeli-made gifts might find them suitable.

A BLOCK or so up the street, at 266 Dizengoff, Martel Hadercora's new window display caught my eye. The firm is a well-established importer of wallpaper. Its latest offering, rarely seen in this country, is wallpaper with matching fabric for curtains, pillows, bed linen, etc.

IT WOULD be nice if peace could be purchased in a shop. Perhaps that was what the proprietors of Peace Shop, a recently opened enterprise at 262 Dizengoff, had in mind. It never seems to be open when I pass by, or perhaps it is closed for the Christmas-New Year season, as there is a Christmas tree in the window. The neighbours at the car accessories store next door, which is also new, tell me that Peace Shop is run by two young Australians.

There doesn't appear to be much merchandise on display except for a lot of hand-painted rocks, and not very attractive ones at that. A huge sign inside proclaims "peace" in English, Hebrew and Arabic. This message seems to be the main item for sale, and I'd like to have a chance to check the price.

Some guests of mine from abroad had an interesting experience with Tel Aviv prices the other day. They were booked in the new hotel near the seashore between Tel Aviv and Jaffa, within walking distance of the Carmel Market, where they enjoyed freshly squeezed orange juice at a kiosk for \$20 to a glass.

Out for a stroll on Dizengoff, they stopped for some fresh juice at a kiosk there. Informed that it would cost \$50 a glass, they expressed surprise. "Ah, but this is Dizengoff," they were told. Fifty shekels, incidentally, is more than the Tourism Ministry permits five-star hotels to charge for a glass of fresh citrus juice in their lobbies.

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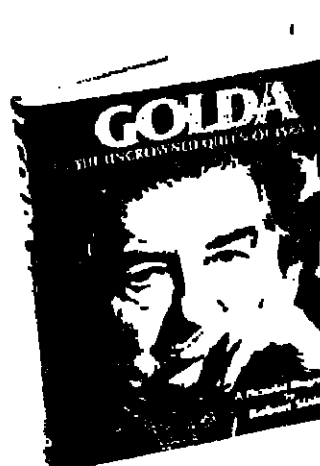
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## Help for composers

ISRAELI composers will now have a better chance of getting their works performed, thanks to a new project of the Yehoshua Rabinowitz Tel Aviv Foundation for Literature and Art. The foundation — which for several years has encouraged Israeli composers by commissioning new works and publishing records with Israeli chamber music — will provide a hall with a good grand piano, free of charge, to a composer — approved by a committee — who provides the artist or the ensemble to perform his works.

Official encouragement helps, though it does not provide inspiration. This came to my mind recently while listening to a visiting choir performing music by their compatriots. Their government allotments huge sums to a foundation, which has published hundreds of scores and printed thousands of recordings of their national composers without having produced one outstanding composer of international importance.

On Israel's music-performing groups, only our choral groups present many original settings and folklike arrangements of Israeli music, here and abroad.

SOME YEARS ago, the Public Council for the Arts offered prizes for the performance of Israeli works by individual artists and instrumental groups. Such opportunities are sure to encourage more local composition, since it is most important for a composer to hear his music performed and to learn from the "live" experience.

At the same time, of course, this encouragement opens the door for many beginners, and for charlatans who hide their lack of ideas and inspiration behind contemporary gimmicks, write intelligent-looking scores and give esoteric and metaphysical explanations about their intentions. They respond aggressively when critics dare to challenge their "emperor's new clothes."

More selectivity and activation of judgement regarding the new trends and talents might produce fewer new scores, but might also prevent disappointment and heartache afterwards when the pieces are rejected not only by critics but by responsible musicians and audiences at large.

YOHANAN BOEHM



## BUSINESS AND FINANCE

WE ARE DEALING in this article with investments. The procedure in handling them is not as complicated as it is reputed to be. Approvals needed are three. The Ministry of Industry and Trade does a project evaluation; the Industrial Development Bank does a financial evaluation; and the Investment Centre, headed by Rafael Benvenisti, gives "approved-enterprise" status, which entitles the venture to financial assistance from the government.

Securing these endorsements does not take long. If our applicant is content to lease a site for his factory in an industrial park — "he can start tomorrow," Benvenisti says.

Bureaucracy begins when one of the three happens. The first is that the investor demands something to which he has no right. The second is that he wants to build premises of his own.

Concerning unwarranted demands, Benvenisti speaks from experience, not all of it pleasant. "Benefits are confined under the law to firms either supplying the export market or situated in a development area."

"Comes a businessman with blueprints for a plant not in a development area, but in Greater Tel Aviv. His target is not the foreign but the domestic market. He asks nevertheless for a development loan."

"We say no. He doesn't accept our no." He approaches politicians, mayors, people in high places. He uses telling arguments: the government must not alienate potential investors from the businessman's country of origin; he is bringing in foreign currency, which Israel needs; he will produce some exports; and so on.

"The official wants to stall the project because he knows it doesn't qualify, but finds himself exposed to pressures from different quarters." He takes refuge in evasions; and that spells bureaucracy.

The fault here is that too many people have a finger in the pie. It is easy to retort that in a democratic society the *pekid*, or civil servant, should not have the last word. The answer ought to be that in a law-abiding society the civil servant, applying the law as he understands it, should indeed have the last word.

Guilty are the busy-bodies in high office who interfere. Equally troublesome are those project-sponsors who activate the busy-bodies. They are often not genuine entrepreneurs, but schemers (Benvenisti uses the Yiddish word *machers*).

They speculate on finding hackers. The area where they strive

Jewish businessmen in the U.S. believe that Israel is riddled with bureaucracy. The problem does exist — but not in every sector, not always without reason, and not only at the initiative of the government, says Rafael Benvenisti, head of the Investment Authority. Some penetrating insights were supplied by foreign investor Mr. X, who chose to remain anonymous. DAVID KRIVINE also got the sociological angle from Hebrew University lecturer Brenda Danet, who has made studies of the subject.

## An ABC for the foreign investor

best is real estate, and most particularly: hotels.

Mr. X is a foreign investor. He refuses to let his name be quoted, fearing that his criticism may antagonize civil servants with whom he deals. Nevertheless, the observations he made are so penetrating that despite his anonymity it was decided to let the interview stand.

Most of his work is abroad, but he has done enough business in this country to be able to overstep the superficial first impressions. His initially jumbled experiences are now sorted out, he understands things better.

Newcomers from the West, he says, encounter a phenomenon in Israel which they cannot comprehend, so they call it bureaucracy. It is really something else, he has discovered. ("We will come to the bureaucracy later.")

"The confusion assailing every one at the beginning arises from the fact, not immediately apprehended, that Israel is a completely different situation from the big countries in Western Europe and North America."

"We are accustomed over there to making three- or four-year projections, because that's the time it takes for a new construction venture to reach fruition. The multi-year period is viewed as a single planning phase."

"Israelis don't look that far ahead, which can be maddening — until you realize that the time-scale is different here. Momentous events succeed each other with bewildering rapidity. There just are no quiet three- or four-year spells during which things remain static."

What does that do to foreign investors? Well, here is a case in point. Mr. X was putting together a project, intended to be the basis of a share issue in New York. In early 1979 the prospectus was printed.

Meanwhile Israel has negotiated the surrender of Sinai. The military infrastructure developed in that vast

peninsula over the preceding 12 years, had to be reproduced in the Negev during three short years, before the scheduled evacuation date.

In May 1979 a freeze was imposed on all construction in Israel (other than the Negev programme), and that included Mr. X's project — for which the prospectus had been published only shortly before.

The financial plan for the venture, which would have gone like a bomb at the time it was mooted, had to be (temporarily) pigeon-holed.

ISRAELIS ACCEPT this discontinuity; but Mr. X has the impression that it is not always a case of *force majeure* and nothing more. There is a temptation sometimes in official circles to seize the opportunity. The authorities exploit convenient breaks to revise policy.

Since it is easy to introduce changes, they introduce too many. Intervention of this kind, however well-intentioned, spells bureaucracy — and does more harm than good.

Mr. X has learnt his lesson: "You should plan to complete a project within the term of office of a single minister. The minute he departs, everything is suspended. The next minister has new ideas, with no compunction about changing the arrangements of his predecessor."

Things in general are more, let us say, fluid in Israel. "Before a contract is finalized in America, agonizing negotiations go on endlessly over every clause and sub-clause. But once all parties sign, that's that."

"Over here people sign almost without scrutinizing the text. The fulfillment of the provisions is something else. A contract in Israel seems often to be not an agreement but an invitation to negotiate."

An enormous number of government departments have to give their approval before a building permit is valid, ranging from the traffic authorities to the fire brigade. "It's

the same overseas," he says, "but with this difference. Overseas if you want to find out what are the requirements of the fire brigade, you buy the book."

"Here there is no book, you have to bargain. Mind you, there are advantages in that, you can get round the rigidities that sometimes affect you overseas." Mr. X is plainly getting used to Israel.

IS THERE MORE bureaucracy here than elsewhere? I asked this question of Brenda Danet, American-born lecturer in sociology at the Hebrew University. She has made studies of the subject. "My gut answer is yes; but on second thoughts you have to define bureaucracy."

We banded the subject about. If a person dealing with the authorities thinks there is bureaucracy does that mean that bureaucracy exists? A foreigner may be shocked to discover that procedures are different from what he is used to; yet different is not necessarily wrong.

Ms. Danet points out that smooth administration requires not only competent civil servants but also competent citizens. Both have to understand what they are doing. The citizen has to know what to ask for, whom to approach, how the system works, where to address complaints.

He must also, she adds, believe in the system. If he doesn't, he is easily discouraged, each argument becomes a clash, each holdup an obstacle. It occurred to me that here again, the foreigner is the vulnerable. Being unfamiliar with the system, he distrusts it and thinks it irrational. He has no faith that solutions can be reached; which hampers negotiation.

ISRAEL HAS TRIED to adopt Western procedures and terminology in order to facilitate foreign investment. Precisely because the similarities have become so great, it is possible to overlook the differences that must still exist between societies which are, let us face it, worlds apart.

So there is a gap in perceptions. Recognizing its existence is a start. The next step, Danet points out, is to bridge it, at least in part. Possible method: a briefing of foreign businessmen by an expert before they enter negotiations with the Israeli administration. Not less important: a briefing of the Israeli officials too, on how foreign businessmen from the country in question conduct their operations.

What about real bureaucracy, the kind that won't go away by just talking about it? "A certain

measure of it is unavoidable," Danet stresses. "Max Weber saw bureaucracy as a sign of progress. It occurs when society becomes more highly organized, necessitating rules and regulations."

"The problem gets out of hand when those same rules and regulations become an end in themselves, rather than a means to an end."

"The tendency to confuse ends and means is common in the lower rungs of every administration, among clerks who feel insecure and seek to protect themselves by citing chapter and verse, in other words by being over-respectful of procedure."

Remedy again? Danet is vague on this. She thinks that better pay and improved status might help junior officials to take a broader view of their functions.

BENVENISTI BELIEVES the need is to stimulate the different government departments to do their jobs better. Considerable improvement has been registered over the years, but there is sluggishness still. Each section is busy with its own affairs and sees the approval required for this or that investment project as a problem from which it can wait its turn.

Moreover, each section looks at problems from its own particularistic point of view. Like the junior clerk who magnifies the importance of the small-print regulations, government departments magnify the importance of the restrictions they have the power to impose.

Benvenisti recommends, not altogether humorously, that a cabinet minister be deputized to deal with bottlenecks. "Every interest-group in the country has a 'dad' — a government department looking after its welfare: farmers have the Agriculture Ministry, home-seekers have the Housing Ministry and so on."

"One group is overlooked — those who depend not on one government department but on many. There is no 'dad' at the top whose job it is to press for inter-departmental coordination."

Coordination means also seeing to it that the *machers* do not set one government office against another, in the bid to get better terms. Benvenisti's Minister of Consistency would make it his business to ensure that when a commitment is made, it is kept.

Official decisions, if legally taken by the proper authority, have to be binding. The whole apparatus of state must stand foursquare behind the responsible agency, so that for once in Israel's chequered administrative history, yes is finally yes, and no is no.

## New surgical laser scanner

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN  
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Laser Industries last week announced that it had developed a totally new surgical laser instrument, the Microscan 771 micro-processor controlled laser scanner.

This device makes possible the uniform removal of large irregularly shaped tissues in a number of surgical disciplines, such as neurosurgery, gynaecology and plastic surgery. The results of operations using the scanner here are being presented to American surgeons at the third annual meeting of the American Society for Laser Medicine and Surgery.

The laser scanner has been developed in the company's R & D laboratories. It allows surgeons to

use predefined human tissue areas automatically, using a visible helium neon guide beam. Surgeons first outline the tissue area to be scanned by the laser. Upon the surgeon's verification, the scanner is activated and uniformly lases precisely within the outlined area.

In over 50 operations already performed, the scanner has achieved homogeneity of tissue vaporization, both in respect to shape and depth, reduction of surgeon fatigue, and lessening of pain in procedures not requiring anaesthetic.

Laser Industries has a patent pending for the device which the management hopes will increase the scope and use of laser surgery. The company's shares are traded on the American Stock Exchange.

## FOCUS

THE JERUSALEM POST Funds have some wonderful friends abroad whose efforts to persuade others to give make a tremendous impact on our totals. During the past few days, the mail has yielded a bonanza. Goldie R. Shaffer of Laredo, Texas, whose heart is as big as the state in which she lives, sent in almost \$3,000 worth of cheques for both *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund and "Forsake Me Not."

Rose Davidson and Herman Needle conduct their fund-raising efforts for the Toy Fund through the Beit Tfiloh Congregation in Baltimore. A couple of weeks back, they sent in \$1,080, which was supplemented last week by an additional \$400.

Mrs. Davidson, an octogenarian, has discovered that collecting for a good cause has given her a new lease on life.

The Toy Fund is just a little short of one million shekels, standing now at IS97,964.11.

Donors were: \$1,200 Raised by Goldie R. Shaffer, Laredo, Tex.; Gary Jacobs, \$100; Ike Epstein, \$100; Raul Goldberg, \$100; G. Manny Novograd, \$100; Irving Haine, \$60; Maurice M. Alexander, \$100; Luis Lidsky, \$50; Leany Holzman, \$50; Jack Aviguel, \$50; Lester Aviguel, \$50; Lazor Goldberg, \$50; Max Mandel, \$50; Sam and Etta Haine, \$50; Abe Wilson, \$50; Jack Eisenberg, \$50; Moe Goldberg, \$50; Jaime Rappaport, \$50; Wolf Hoffman, \$25; Estelle Bornstein, \$20; Goldie R. Shaffer, \$25; Minnie Silverman, \$18; Israel Lewin, \$10; WM Rose, \$10.

Additional contributions collected by Rose Davidson and Herman Needle under the auspices of the Beit Tfiloh Congregation, Baltimore, Md. (\$50 — Yael Gordon Foundation, Inc.; Dr. Israel Zeligman; Sylvia F. Nachlas, \$25 — Albert D. Goldman; Lele Landay, W. Hackerman, Sue D. Siegal; \$15 — Bloomer Leuderger; Florence R. Lerner, David Weiner; \$10 — State Home Equipment Company; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Cooper; Dr. Marvin Rombro; Freda C. Liebman; Richard Davidson; Harry E. Landay; David Glick; \$5 — Edna Gorfine; Herman A. Kengwood; Jean Bluckstein; Frank Smolin; The Knish Shop Inc.).

\$122 Elmont Jewish Centre, Elmont, N.Y. \$50 Anonymous, Middlesex, England. \$54 In lieu of Hanukkah Gelt for Elizabeth, de Bella and Joseph Braun, St. Laurent, Quebec, Canada.

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some biblical plants, notably hyssop, mandrake and caper.

Mrs. Hartley's subject, of course was not the Bible and flowers, or Jerusalem and flowers, but Judaism and flowers, and I was able to add that I had come across the sole reference known to me in the rabbinic literature on the beautiful and widespread custom of providing flowers for Sabbath.

It is in a peculiar context. In Canticles Rabba 2.8, it states, "Just as the *Shoshana* is prepared for Sabbath and festivals, so is Israel prepared for the Redemption of tomorrow."

I cannot write of flowers and Jerusalem and refrain from referring to the beautiful gesture made last year by the people of Holland after their government decided (as did other governments) to remove its embassy from Jerusalem. A group of Dutch people presented no less than 100,000 bulbs — lilies, tulips and daffodils — to Jerusalem. They came into full blossom on a most appropriate day, Jerusalem Day, and provided an entrancing sight,

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\$1300 Anonymous, Jerusalem. \$1300 In memory of my father Johannes Behrendt — Susanne Esan, Jerusalem.

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\$1500 In honour of our nonagenarian aunts Lotte Liebenstein and Grete Weiller. Happy birthday to my mother — Felis, Dani, Ruthi and off-spring. In memory of Bella Coleman — S.A., Ramat Gan, Helene

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